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Warsaw Pact Meeting Set for 3 Nov in Budapest

LD1610172690 Warsaw PAP in English 1607 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 16—The next meeting of the Warsaw Pact will be held on 3 November, in Budapest, announced spokesman for the Soviet president, Vitaliy Ignatenko.

Leaders of six member states of the treaty will participate in this meeting of the Political Consultative Committee: The USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

Warsaw Pact, Bulgarian Military Leaders Meet

LD1610112790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 16 Oct 90

[By correspondent Igor Mishakin]

[Text] Sofia, 16 Oct (TASS)—Army General P.G. Lushev, commander-in-chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member-states, and V.N. Lobov, chief of staff of the joint armed forces, met the leaders of the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense here on Monday [15 October]. There was an exchange of views on current issues. The meeting took place in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

Primakov Continues Persian Gulf Crisis Tour

Meets De Michelis in Rome

LD1710113290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By correspondent Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome, 17 Oct (TASS)—There was a lengthy conversation between Yevgeniy M. Primakov, the USSR president's special representative and a member of the Presidential Council, Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis on the situation in and around the Persian Gulf. The conversation took place at the Soviet ambassador's residence in Rome on 16 October.

After the conversation, De Michelis gave an interview to state television in which he said that the Soviet Union, like Europe and the United States, is anxious to seek a political solution. He said the USSR wants to hold another round of diplomatic consultations in order to reveal all available possibilities. Saddam Husayn must know that we are not seeking a compromise at the expense of the main issue, which is Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

Italy and the EEC, continued the minister, want to make every possible effort to find a peaceful solution. "We do not want to resort to the use of force, but it depends not only on us but primarily on Saddam Husayn." De Michelis said that "general rules and logic" must be applied in the Near East to resolve both the Kuwait problem and the Palestinian problem.

Confers With Mitterrand

AU1710205090 Paris AFP in English 1942 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Paris, Oct 17 (AFP) — Soviet envoy Yevgeni Primakov said Wednesday [17 October] that he did not rule out a change in position by Iraq, following its invasion of Kuwait.

"I can tell you diplomatically that I do not rule out the Iraqi position becoming more flexible," he told reporters after a 45-minute meeting here with French President Francois Mitterrand.

He stressed that "politics must play a role as long as the situation does not degenerate in a military direction."

"There is no question of pacification, or accepting the annexion of Kuwait or any other actions in contradiction with the basis on which we would like to found the new world," he added.

The envoy, a Middle East expert and adviser to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, said that he was "prudently optimistic" about a negotiated settlement.

Mr. Mitterrand's spokesman, Hubert Vedrine, told reporters that Mr. Mitterrand had "no intention of commenting on the contents" of their meeting. Mr. Mitterrand believed that it was "very important" to keep in touch with the Soviet Union on the Gulf issue.

The crisis could come up during Mr. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Paris, according to Mr. Vedrine. Mr. Gorbachev is expected here later his month.

Mr. Primakov, who came to Paris from Rome after being sent for surprise consultations by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, was leaving later for Washington where he was to meet with U.S. President George Bush.

Mr. Primakov met with Mr. Husayn in Baghdad earlier this month.

The Soviet envoy had earlier received a hard-line message from the Italian Presidency of the European Economic Community (EEC) raising the possibility of using military force to obtain an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, representing the EEC presidency, said after meeting with Mr. Primakov that Mr. Husayn "must take into account the possibility of a military option which would be negative for all involved, but disastrous for him. Mr. de Michelis said that "Saddam Husayn must know that there is no search for a compromise on our part... The demands for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and for the liberation of the hostages are not negotiable".

Following Mr. Primakov's meeting in Baghdad earlier this month with Mr. Husayn, the Soviet news agency Novosti indicated that Iraq might be prepared to withdraw from Kuwait if it could retain control of certain oil fields and maritime access routes to the Gulf.

Baghdad on Sunday offically denied the report, while U.S. Secretary of State James Baker formally rejected the possibility that the West might accept such a partial withdrawal.

Endorses Political Solution

LD1710221590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2112 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris, Oct 18 (TASS)—Y.M. Primakov, a special representative of the USSR president and member of the Presidential Council, who arrived in Paris on Wednesday [17 October] was received by Francois Mitterrand at the Elysee Palace. During the course of the meeting, a thorough exchange of views was held on possible ways out of the crisis in the Persian Gulf zone, and during it the need was stressed to use all the political means at hand for the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait in accordance with the resolution of the UN Security Council.

Answering journalists' questions after the meeting, Y.M. Primakov noted that it is necessary to seek solutions which would allow one to avoid a military clash. It is not a question of appeasing anyone or obtaining consent from the world community to the annexation of Kuwait. It is necessary to keep on applying efforts to resolve the problem by political means, while there are still opportunities for this, although, as Y.M. Primakov stated, room for maneuver continues to shrink.

The world community will not accept any strong linkage of the problems of the Near East. At the same it is clear that the resolution of the Kuwaiti crisis, as stressed by M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR, at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Helsinki, must become the impetus for resolving other issues in this region, including the Palestinian.

The settlement of the Kuwaiti crisis must be used to stabilize the situation in the whole region, and to resolve other conflicts, including the Arab-Israeli one, the USSR president's special representative stressed.

Leaves Paris for Washington

LD1810094190 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Shvets]

[Text] Paris October 18 TASS—Soviet presidential envoy Yevgeniy Primakov left Paris for Washington today to continue consultations on the Gulf crisis.

In France Primakov was received by President Francois Mitterand. During the conversation they discussed possible ways of settling the crisis.

Mitterrand and Primakov stressed the need to use every possible political means to have Iraqi troops withdrawn from Kuwait in accordance with U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Veto of UN Military Moves in Iraq Discussed

PM1710150590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by G. Stepanov: "Cheney Will Not Obtain Secret Information"]

[Text] G.I. Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told journalists during a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center that there are currently 85 Soviet military citizens in Iraq plus 15 people working in the apparatus under the chief military specialist and 40 interpreters. He pointed out that he thought it necessary to give these precise figures since speculation had been voiced at previous briefings that there was an apparent divergence of data.

A correspondent for the London-published AL-HAYAH asked the following question: "Comrade Shevardnadze said today that the Soviet Union may use its right of veto in the Security Council. Does this mean that the USSR opposes any solution which envisages military operations? Second: Iraq has said that U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney may be given certain military information during his upcoming visit to the USSR. What can you say about this?"

In response, G.I. Gerasimov stressed that the supposition that the Soviet Union may use its right of veto is a theoretical one and is not linked to any specific incident. It is only a matter of stating the situation in that the UN Charter makes provision for this right and it can be used, but as for anything concrete... "As for military information, I do not not know who started this 'rumor'; we have no intention of imparting any military information, that is, of violating existing agreements with third countries which envisage their keeping certain data secret."

TASS Reports Petrovskiy's Activities at UN

Address on Disarmament

LD1710080790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2342 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] United Nations, 17 Oct (TASS)—A globalization of disarmament processes, which should involve all the categories of arms and all countries and regions, is needed today, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, has said. On Tuesday, he spoke during the general debate in the First Committee (political and security issues, including disarmament) of the 45th UN General Assembly session.

We are convinced that a philosophy of action geared toward specific deeds should become the philisophy of multilateral disarmament now, he noted. The transformation of the attained conceptual concord on a broad range of problems of military and political security into practical deeds and legally formulated accords is required. The nature of mutual relations between states rules out a confrontation of forces and the concept of war as a continuation of policy today. And here logics prompts the following natural step—to agree on the parameters of a reasonable defense sufficiency of military potentials.

The path toward this, the speaker continued, lies in the unfolding of a broad international dialogue. Such a dialogue has already become a reality in relations between the NATO and Warsaw Pact member-countries. But it is not for nothing that the modern world is interrelated and mutually dependent. Its security may be reliably ensured only if the process of demilitarization spreads beyond the European continent and, also, if bilateral, regional, and multilateral efforts supplement one another.

Dwelling on the main directions of the world community's activity aimed at limiting and reducing arms and consolidating security, the USSR deputy foreign minister singled out such aspects as the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, a ban on nuclear tests, a ban on and the elimination of chemical weapons, the limitation and reduction of deliveries and transfer of conventional arms, the limitation of the use of scientific and technical advances for military purposes, conversion of military resources, and predictability in military activity and its transparency.

The concept of a new internationalism based on consensus and collective actions, the primacy of international law, the complete engagement of the potential of all the mechanisms of multilateralism is being born in the world community's mind, the USSR deputy foreign minister stressed. The businesslike tenor of the current session and the orientation of our organization on fruitful work provide firm grounds for expecting that, in the near future, those of us in the First Committee will be able not only to strengthen a new model of international security but also form a preventive strategy for survival and consolidating peace. Realism, political courage, and preparedness for decisive actions are the main things that are needed from all states today, Vladimir Petrovskiy concluded.

Social Policy Reviewed

LD1810091190 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations October 18 TASS—What kind of social policy countries should have, how they should create the necessary conditions for young people to develop and family relations to strengthen, how to help the disabled become full and equal members of society and how to protect the aged—these and many other items are on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly's Third Committee (social, humanitarian and cultural) which began to consider social issues in the world.

Drawing on its experience, the United Nations Organisation has worked out practical recommendations to improve the social climate in the world.

Many countries use these recommendations to formulate and implement their policies. U.N. experience benefits the Soviet Union as well, particularly now that legislative activity has assumed an unprecedented scope, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told the committee on Wednesday [17 Oct].

To shape a consistent and youth policy is now a major aspect of Soviet parliamentary activities, he said.

"The elaboration and adoption of a special law concerning young people is also in the order of the day. We are following guidelines that are the result of the joint activity of members of the international community," Petrovskiy said.

The Soviet Union welcomes progress in the U.N. drawing up of documents concerning the rights of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, the mentally handicapped, and indigenous populations, Petrovskiy said.

The time has come to think about formalising in greater detail the standards concerning the freedom of conscience, an alternative military service and the protection of the most vulnerable groups of population, he said.

"We see the value and importance of international human rights standards being worked out at the U.N., in that they are the recognised guide for the entire international community. This is why it is important to introduce these standards in national policies. The USSR Supreme Soviet intends to act precisely in this way," Petrovskiy emphasised.

Hans Hoegh, special representative of the U.N. secretary-general for the 1983-1992 decade for the disabled, said that within the decade's remaining two years, governments should determine programmes to create equal opportunities for the disabled.

Every country should have a national coordinating committee for the disabled and committees that are in charge of ensuring appropriate services to the disabled. Groups of invalids should be invited to participate in the planning and development of programmes to aid them, Hoegh said.

Conditions must ensure participation by disabled in societal life, and not just the provision of passive aid, Italian representative Vieri Traxler believes.

Unveiling of Military Data Called 'Breakthrough'

PM1710154390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by correspondent V. Linnik: "Published for the First Time"]

[Excerpts] New York, 16 Oct—You would have thought that it would have to be a sensation—for the first time the Soviet Union has passed to the United Nations official and quite specific figures for the USSR's military spending during 1989. But I cannot say that there were claps of thunder and the skies opened on this day.

The journalists who gathered yesterday for the news conference given by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy received this news with due attention, but calmly. [passage omitted]

Our military spending last year totaled 77.9 billion rubles. The total, as in the United States, is greater than the military budget proper because it includes, in particular, spending on the production of nuclear warheads within the system of the Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation. [passage omitted]

There do seem to be certain obscure points in the information we have supplied to the United Nations. I cannot understand, in particular, why something has been crossed out in the section on expenditures on strategic forces. The accompanying elucidation states that this is connected with "the absence of a clearly expressed organization of strategic forces." The sum totals for spending on civil defense also give rise to questions. But these are details in comparison with the tremendous breakthrough in the matter of openness which we have made, in my opinion, for the first time since the twenties.

United States & Canada

U.S. Defense Secretary Continues Moscow Visit

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD1710155990 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today met U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney, it has been officially announced here.

The ministers highly assessed positive changes in Soviet-U.S. relations and the international climate as a whole in the recent years.

The changes allow the United States to revise its long-term strategy and military planning, Cheney said. He said the direction of the old U.S. strategy, when the building and deployment of the U.S. Army was carried out in accordance with preparations for a global conflict against the Soviet Union, will change.

He said a considerable reduction in U.S. military presence in Europe have already begun. The U.S. military budget is expected to be slashed by 180 million U.S. dollars in the five coming years, and the U.S. Armed Forces to be reduced by 20 to 25 percent, Cheney said.

The ministers discussed military strategical problems, which, they believe, deserve attention on the part of the Soviet and U.S. sides and other members of the international community.

They discussed the defence sufficiency concept, ways to establish a broad dialogue on the problems of strategic stability, regional security, the formation of security structures at the United nations, the establishment of order in the international arms trade, problems of creation of new kinds of weapons and proliferation of most up-to-date weapons.

They discussed the Gulf crisis, noting that it is important that the Soviet Union and the United States proceed from common grounds at the UN Security Council.

Remarks to Shevardnadze Welcomed

LD1710141190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by diplomatic correspondent Viktor Levin]

[Text] I'll try to be brief and laconic, but I think the report merits the most serious attention. I have been told by a senior official at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs that during Shevardnadze's conversation with Cheney, a positive assessment was made of the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations, and here the U.S. secretary said that in light of the current development of these relations, the United States is embarking upon a review of its strategic planning. In my view, it is worth paying special attention to Cheney's statement that the United States plans over the next five years to cut its military budget by $180 billion and to reduce the size of its armed forces by 20-25 percent. When I heard these figures I recalled the assertions made by certain of our people's deputies about one-sided concessions by the USSR. Cheney, one can conclude from his words, is refuting these assertions with specific data. We are cutting our Armed Forces and so are the Americans.

An important problem was also raised in the conversation with the foreign minister. He spoke of ensuring regional security and raised the question of the need for control over the arms trade. In Shevardnadze's opinion, the USSR and the United States are themselves hardly in a position to deal with this problem, and it is necessary to put it before the entire international community.

Addresses Supreme Soviet

LD1710175890 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney, on a four-day official visit to the Soviet Union, today spoke to the Soviet parliament.

Cheney said that during talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, they discussed the Gulf crisis, arms control, and changes in the Soviet and U.S. strategy in the light of the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Cheney said the U.S. Administration welcomed the Soviet Union's support for international efforts aimed to force Iraq to fulfil U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Cheney noted that as a result of unanimity between the great powers, U.N. opportunities to oppose international aggression have grown. He said the United States was ready to cooperate with the Soviet Union in increasing the international organisation's efficiency in maintaining peace.

Asked by Soviet MP Valeriy Ochirov about prospects to settle the Gulf crisis, Cheney said he hoped that international sanctions adopted under the aegis of the United Nations would force Iraq to leave Kuwait. Nevertheless, he did not exclude other variants for the development of the situation.

In addition to answering questions, Cheney also asked Soviet deputies questions. He was particularly interested in the prospects for the establishment of a professional army in the USSR and for military conversion.

Soviet parliamentarian Leonid Sharin told Cheney that an experiment is currently underway in some Soviet navy and paratroopers units. They are being drafted on a contractual basis. The results of the experiment and the study of other armies' experience will then allow Soviet military planners to take a decision.

As for the conversion, considerable cuts in the manufacture of some military hardware are planned for this year, Sharin said. On the whole, after the realisation of the programme of military conversion between 1991-1995, arms production is expected to account for only 35 per cent of the total output of the military industrial complex, Sharin said.

Visits Air Defense Center

LD1810091590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow 18 Oct (TASS)—U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, this morning toured an air defense center located in Moscow oblast. The head of the U.S. military department arrived in Moscow on Tuesday for a four-day visit.

Also today, Richard Cheney left by helicopter for Tula—historic center of Russian gunsmiths—from Tushino airport, where air shows and air sports events are held. In Tula he is to visit a training center for airborne assault troops. According to Colonel General Vladisloav Achalov, commander of the airborne assault troops, the Pentagon head will be shown combat training and equipment for airborne assault troops. "We will open up the secrets of the high-level training of Soviet paratroops to the U.S. defense secretary," he said.

On his tour of military installations, the visitor from the United States is accompanied by Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, who provides explanations.

"We have already discussed a broad range of issues in our conversations with Marshal Yazov, and progress on many points is evident," Richard Cheney told your TASS correspondents before his departure for Tula. Dmitriy Yazov also expressed satisfaction with his talks with the Pentagon head.

Richard Cheney will return to Moscow this evening, and on Friday morning he will hold a news conference on the results of his visit at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press center for Soviet and foreign journalists.

PRAVDA Reports Gorbachev Meeting

PM1810092890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Cheney"]

[Text] The USSR president met with U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney in the Kremlin on 17 October. The very fact of the meeting and the atmosphere, like the visit, which forms part of the now traditional exchange between the two states' top military leaders, is striking evidence of the level of Soviet-American mutual understanding, cooperation, and trust.

Cheney conveyed President Bush's sincere congratulations on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to M.S. Gorbachev. In response M.S. Gorbachev said that he would not wish to personalize such recognition by the international community. It is an appreciation of the great transformations in the Soviet Union and of our cause which we have undertaken together and which has already been marked by fundamental changes in the world situation. They are mainly due to the improvement in U.S.-USSR relations. Great heights have been scaled here, and this enables us to look far ahead. The new line in world politics already has its own history. It has withstood very serious trials, including the testing events in the Persian Gulf.

Dwelling on this, M.S. Gorbachev asked that the U.S. President be informed of his immutable commitment to the Helsinki accords. The Soviet leadership will firmly uphold the line expressed in the UN Security Council resolutions, using every opportunity to find a political solution. He also noted that the most recent bloody events were another reminder of the need to settle the conflict in the Near East as a whole.

M.S. Gorbachev expressed satisfaction that ways toward concluding a treaty on the results of the Vienna talks and an agreement on halving strategic offensive armaments have been found. The unprecedented openness in contacts in the military sphere and understanding of the existing realities in the two states' military activity suggest that it will be possible after the conclusion of agreements on conventional arms in Europe and on strategic offensive arms to tackle immediately such problems as deep cuts in military budgets and naval armaments, the production of nuclear weapons, stopping nuclear tests, and conversion.

The realization that war between the the USSR and the United States is impossible and must never occur, M.S. Gorbachev noted, has long since shifted from the sphere of philosophical speculation to the sphere of practical action. In order to move to a universal order of peace in this rapidly changing world it is very important that good relations between two such powers continue to be asserted.

We value, M.S. Gorbachev noted, the understanding shown by George Bush and many other Americans of the crucial period through which the Soviet Union is now going. We judge this not just by statements but by the mode of action. In view of the relations prevailing between the two presidents, M.S. Gorbachev briefed Cheney, for George Bush's benefit, on upcoming decisions to stabilize the situation in the country and strengthen authority at all levels in order to maintain the fundamental course of perestroyka, ensure the country's democratic development, and do everything possible for its economic revival in the conditions of the new state formation—a union of sovereign states. One of history's particular features, he noted, is that everything circumstantial and incidental is forgotten, while the main thing remains. We are optimists; we belive we will succeed.

On the U.S. President's behalf Richard Cheney expressed interest in the Soviet Union being a stable, prosperous, and democratic state.

Taking part were D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.M. Shabanov, and A.F. Dobrynin; P. Wolfowitz, J. Matlock, P. Williams, L. Libby, A. Canter, and D. Lopez.

PRAVDA Reports Yazov Meeting

PM1710160790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 16 October R. Cheney had a meeting with the USSR minister of defense. Questions of the further development of cooperation between the two countries, including in the military sphere, were examined during the talks. Problems of strengthening peace and security were also discussed.

The talks were held in an atmosphere of frankness and mutual understanding.

The U.S. defense secretary laid a wreath at the grave of the unknown soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov gave a dinner in R. Cheney's honor.

TASS Analyst Questions SDI 'New Rationale'

LD1710211290 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—Henry Cooper, chief of the U.S. Strategic Defence Initiative Organisation, has announced a rethink of SDI goals and, consequently, of its structure and programme. Cooper stressed that the goals must be more moderate and call for creating a defence against limited nuclear strikes rather than against a massive attack involving several thousand ballistic missiles.

This is not the first time the programme has had to be redrafted. The Pentagon has long ago disowned the goals, proclaimed in 1983 by the then President, Ronald Reagan, namely to create an "impenetrable shield" over America. The plan was replaced by a more modest scheme which envisaged deployment of the so-called Brilliant Pebbles system.

However, this system as well should have consisted of hundreds of combat platforms, armed with small anti-missile missiles, intended for deployment in space. There is every indication to believe that at the first stage the Pentagon plans to forego space for ground- based antimissile missiles.

Why such "metamorphoses" in the American programme? First, recent events, such as radical changes in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty on the whole, the demise of the "enemy image", the feasibility of achieving a Soviet-U.S. agreement on deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons already this year, effectively eliminate any grounds for the creation of the strategic defence system.

Second, getting Congress allocations for the SDI has become extremely complicated. This is explained by the unfavourable financial situation in the United States and positive changes in East-West relations.

Finally, the real state of affairs in the field of SDI-related technology also makes itself felt to some degree. There has been no success in developing not only "exotic" but even "classical" weapons, also intended for deployment in space.

Incidentally, even faced by reality SDI proponents do not want to give up their "star faith". As the main reason which allegedly makes the continuation of work on the SDI programme necessary, they name now, instead of the Soviet nuclear missile stockpile, the deployment of ballistic missiles in developing countries, including those which Americans brand as adhering to international terrorism.

A question arises: is the new rationale for the SDI rational? Should one create even a "thin" system of anti-missile defence against nuclear terrorists when terrorists can deliver a nuclear charge to U.S. territory by conventional means? Any country which launches a nuclear-tipped missile can rightfully expect a mighty strike in reply from the Americans.

At the same time, another thing is important: any solution proposed now will become only the first phase in the creation of the SDI. Once it is started, the first phase will be followed by a second, a third, etc. It is difficult now to rule out an option when in future SDI proponents will demand implementing the "Star Wars" concept in full and putting in space armaments systems, which can hardly be imagined even in general outline now.

It seems that there is only one wonder weapon which can protect America against nuclear attack: an agreement on arms control, including treaties on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and rocket technology, so desperately needed today.

It is in this direction that efforts and funds should be spent.

U.S. Investment Group To Aid Defense Conversion

LD1710105390 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 17 Sep 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Kuznetsov]

[Text] New York October 17 TASS—An international foundation for capital investments in the conversion of Soviet defence plants has been set up in the United States, Dean Lebaron, director of the U.S. investment company Betterimarch that initiated the fund, told a news conference here on Tuesday.

An agreement between the firm and the Soviet Government's Military Industry Commission, opening the way for the implementation of this project, was signed in Moscow at the beginning of October.

"New political thinking, the founder of which, Mikhail Gorbachev, has been awarded a high distinction—the Nobel Peace Prize—is beginning to bring in peace dividends," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said at the news conference.

He voiced hope that U.S. capital investments in the conversion of Soviet defence plants to produce civilian goods would serve as an additional guarantee of the irreversibility of disarmament processes.

Many enterprises in the Soviet defence sector have advanced technology and can turn out products that are up to world standards, Lebaron said.

During a recent tour of the Soviet Union, he was given an opportunity to get acquainted with a number of such plants in Moscow and Leningrad. U.S. businessmen believe that not less than 20 defence plants are of interest to international investors of capital.

Large companies not only from the United States but also from Japan and a number of West European countries have already displayed interst in the investment foundation, the charter fund of which is expected to be from 400 million to one billion U.S. dollars, Lebaron said.

Only 20 transnational corporations are expected to become members of the foundation through competitive selection.

The minimum entry fee that will be considered has been set at 20 million dollars.

Large corporations are targeted because they do not require an immediate return on their investments. Long-term capital investments are the goal, Lebaron said in response to journalists' questions about the non-convertile rouble and the difficulties involved in taking profits out of the Soviet Union.

At the same time he voiced hope that the problems would be resolved by the time capital investments by the foundation start paying their way.

Popularity Part of 'Dilemmas' Facing Bush

PM1710122590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the "Panorama of International Life" rubric: "You Can't Envy Bush..."]

[Excerpts] New York—The results of the latest poll just carried out by THE NEW YORK TIMES jointly with CBS Television have surprised hardly anyone: George Bush's popularity as president is declining.

The current poll has merely confirmed the conclusions of the series of previous polls by which U.S. public opinion has been gauged well nigh every week over the last several months—taking into account the significance and seriousness of events taking place both in the United States itself and abroad.

Thus it turns out that the number of Americans who approve of Bush's actions as the country's leader has decreased by 16 percent since the beginning of August, and the number of people not approving of presidential actions—either on the domestic or the foreign policy front—has increased by 15 percent.

If James Carter or Ronald Reagan had been in Bush's shoes, they would have rejoiced: At this period in their presidencies the figures showing support or lack of it were much worse.

But Bush is not Reagan or Carter, and never before in the 20-odd months of his period in office has he encountered such an extent of U.S. dissatisfaction as now.

It is known that, in contrast to many predecessors, Bush does not simply follow the polls but also takes them fully into account when formulating his opinion on questions of one sort or another. As the president likes to repeat, he is "working for those who elected him." The meaning of this refrain is simple: "Politicians and commentators may criticize me, but the important thing for me is the people's viewpoint."

That is why Bush will be very hard put not to pay attention to what the people think about his policy, domestic and foreign. [passage omitted].

The president has an excuse: I like studying foreign policy questions, he said at a recent White House news conference, more than domestic questions.

The reality is that if we're talking about the successes of the first 20 months of Bush's rule, they have mainly come in the foreign policy sphere. This is partly because the Bush administration has not until recently had occasion to face crisis situations. Bush, who has enormous foreign policy experience, had everything easy in those first 20 months and it was as if events abroad were working for him: How priceless is just one "quiet revolution" in East Europe! Not to mention the Panama invasion, which sharply increased the president's standing among Americans.

But the Persian Gulf crisis, now aggravated by a new deterioration of the situation in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, has presented Bush with the most acute problems that have to be solved simultaneously with the most acute domestic problems.

The president is manifestly not yet coping with this "parallelism." THE NEW YORK TIMES and CBS poll, along with U.S. dissatisfaction with the state of the economy, has also revealed Americans' growing dissatisfaction with the administration's "Persian Gulf policy": The number of people who approve of Bush's actions has fallen by 18 percent. The most remarkable thing is that the number of respondents who do not approve of Bush's foreign policy actions as a whole has increased by seven percent.

There is an economic and financial element here: According to the words of many respondents, they have changed their attitude to the way the administration is reacting to events in the Persian Gulf since learning that this "reaction" is costing taxpayers a million dollars a day.

Bush has virtually backed himself into a corner. Or more precisely, into two corners. Having shown momentary decisiveness in the Persian Gulf, having organized a transfer of troops and equipment unprecedented since the days of Vietnam, having issued a series of virtual ultimatums to the Baghdad regime, he has put himself in a cruel dilemma—to fight or not to fight.

The second corner is the tax corner. The problem of increasing taxes—as a means of reducing the federal budget deficit—is a prickly one in any circumstances. But on the eve of elections it is the kiss of death. One false step and Bush could doom many candidates from his Republican Party to defeat in the forthcoming 6 November elections. One false step and he will jeopardize his own chances of reelection in 1992. The mass of Americans are categorically opposed to increased taxes and taxes in general.

Cynical observers who prefer to call themselves realists are suggesting that a so-called "October surprise" is possible, that is, something that will be instantly poised to win electors over to the president and his party's candidates. For instance, the surprise expected in October 1980 was the release of the 52 U.S. hostages from Iran—a release which would immediately increase Carter's chances of success. The "surprise" did not materialize, the hostages were not released, and Carter, beset by economic problems, lost.

Could it not transpire that this election season's surprise will be a military action against Iraq—not a large-scale action which could threaten to result in a huge number of "GI" casualties and consequently the undermining of White House positions, but, as the expression goes here, a "surgical" action—that is, the lightning launch of a carefully planned strike at Iraq's main strategic installations, including the residences and shelters of the country's highest leadership? Theoretically it is possible. However, a substantial "but" has appeared: The threat recently announced by Baghdad not to let Soviet specialists, including military specialists, out of Iraq entails the danger that our people will become some kind of shield for the Iraqis. Are the Americans prepared to launch a strike, even a "surgical" one, in such conditions? After all, however well planned the strike is, it can in no way guarantee that innocent people will not die. Let us just remember April 1986 and the U.S. air attack on Libya.

Two corners—two dilemmas for President Bush. You can't envy him...

Northeast Asia

Japan's Kaifu Says No Change in Claim to Kurils

LD1710154190 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Tokyo October 17 TASS—Democratisation, liberalisation and the transition to a market economy, which are being realised in the Soviet Union within the framework of perestroika, are contributing to ensuring peace and stability throughout the world, Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu told the Japanese parliament today.

In response to inquiries by deputies from various political parties, Kaifu said Japan had already taken some measures to assist reforms in the Soviet Union, specifically, by receiving Soviet delegations who seek to draw on Japanese experience in economic management.

Having described this kind of assistance as appropriate, Kaifu said that Tokyo intends to continue this policy.

Kaifu noted the Japanese Government's efforts to ensure that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan next year serves as an "important auspicious occasion for a radical improvement in Japanese-Soviet relations" and voiced hope that a qualitatively new era would open up in these relations.

At the same time, Kaifu emphasised that there were "no changes" in the Japanese Government's stand on the "northern territories". Japan claims the southern Kurile Islands of Iturup, Kunashir, Habomai and Shikotan.

On the eve of Gorbachev's visit, Kaifu said, the Japanese Government intends to hold still more active and persistent talks, aiming to secure the "simultaneous return of the four islands."

Soviet-Japanese Relations Prospects Viewed

PM1710153190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by correspondent S. Agafonov under the "Point of View" rubric: "USSR-Japan: Real Spring or Just a Thaw?"]

[Text] Tokyo—Now that the excitement caused by the USSR foreign minister's arrival in Japan has somewhat abated, local political scientists are entering an unhurried period of analysis and appraisal of the development prospects of Soviet-Japanese relations in light of the Soviet president's visit to Tokyo, scheduled for mid-April next year. Talk on this subject is highly popular also in political and business circles, making it possible to compile a sufficiently broad—even if not comprehensive—picture of the Japanese "vision" of future contacts with the Union. Actually, it must be said for accuracy's sake that there is no "single" vision as such. It is a matter of several possible options, the differences between them being at times substantial and at other times coming down to nothing but finer distinctions. To put it briefly, here we also have pluralism—specifically Japanese, true enough—built within the framework of "nationwide consensus" on the one question of bilateral relations which is fundamental from the Japanese point of view—the territorial or, as we perceive it, the geographic one.

The consensus boils down to the fact that, according to the conviction of most Japanese involved in political hair-splitting and enjoying the right to have their own opinion on matters of state, Moscow must restore "historical justice" and return to Japan the territories which were unfairly taken away from it in 1945 as a result of the postwar settlement. In the spirit of the times, the territorial question is now being examined in Tokyo as one of the last remaining relics of the "cold war," a remnant of Stalin's arbitrary rule which awaits radical review. It is worth noting by the way that the Stalinist "topic" covers more than just the territories in present Japanese constructions and involves a whole train of questions which are painful not only from the historical but also from the contemporary point of view—the Union's violation of the neutrality pact with Japan, the forced labor by Japanese prisoners of war in Siberian zones, the expulsion of Japanese civilian population from Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, and about a dozen more long-standing grievances of lesser importance.

Judging by the "sum total of statements" heard at different levels in Tokyo over the last few weeks, the appearance of Stalin's "specter" in Japanese arguments was due not so much to any ill will or desire to "pressure" the Union by proving the historical injustices it has committed against Japan, but to a hope that, under the conditions of perestroyka and critical appraisals of the past, Moscow would find it much easier to conduct a dialogue with the Japanese on the wave of clearing away Stalin's excesses.

This thesis will probably prove to be highly mistaken, but I do get the impression that the Japanese side is at present, in an extremely keen and purely oriental fashion, striving to give us a hint of a formula for finding a way out of the deadlock in bilateral relations while saving "face" and even earning dividends. This formula is essentially very simple—in the wake of the "peaceful revolution" which rolled all over East Europe, in the wake of the unification of the two Germany's, the 1945 Yalta model of the world's structure has already been buried, even though not publicly. Perhaps the only remaining oddity is the world order's "eastern flank" and the Japanese "corner" in particular. Consequently, very little is needed to revert to present realities and abandon the path of the past—declare the inconsistency of the former "victors' deal," attribute all misfortunes to long-dead leaders, and enter the present with an olive branch, casting off the burdens of the past.

Let us give this scheme the credit it deserves; it contains an abundance of nobility and scope for the display of new thinking and minimum losses, provided one discounts the territories which will have to be ceded afterwards. It is this "afterwards" that provides the stumbling block—the approach which Japanese politicians, businessmen, and scientists differ depending on the conservatism of their views and the breadth of their horizons. It is worth examining these differences in greater detail, especially since the internal Japanese debate on this issue is, in my view, largely addressed to us.

Oversimplification and sketchiness always involve a certain amount of superficiality, but this is unavoidable in this case, if for no other reason but the saving of newspaper space. Therefore, even if simplistically put, now it is possible to discern two main tracks along which debates in Japan are running. The first is the toughest toward the Soviet Union and is generally confrontational by nature. Its proponents, relying on the thesis that Moscow has been pushed into purely defensive actions by its domestic problems, consider as inevitable the Union's "capitulation" on the territorial question in exchange for Japanese economic aid. Proceeding from this premise, according to their logic, Tokyo would gain no advantage from yielding even a single inch on questions of principle, demanding the immediate return of the territories as a key condition for any talk on normalization of relations.

The second track is considerably more flexible, because it offers an opportunity for maneuvering in time. The pragmatists promoting it call on their opponents to realize that, for a great power, the question of national prestige—even given the threat of total political and economic collapse—is more important than all the billions it may receive at the price of humiliation. The recognition of this simple truth would lead the debate into calmer waters more suitable for the quest for alternative options: These include historical "repentance" plus two islands, with the return of the remaining two postponed for a given number of years; "repentance" without any territorial "additive" but with a promised return within a time period set in advance; a formula whereby sovereignty is restored but a stage-by-stage assimilation is extended over several decades; and a series of other options protecting the partner's dignity.

Of course, we are free to have a good laugh at all these constructions and reject them out of hand, but it must be assumed that this will not change the essence of the Japanese stance—the question of the territories will not be deleted from the agenda, in the same way that all the other aforementioned problems are unlikely to go away.

Far be it from me to offer suggestions to our own Foreign Ministry, but it would be nonetheless interesting to take a look—even if only theoretically—at the extent to which Soviet diplomats have freedom of action, bearing in mind the present "luggage" of bilateral relations.

One ought to begin with the fact that this "luggage" is not too bulky and consists largely of "invoices" which the sides present in turn to one another when they are upset. We spoke briefly of the Japanese claims, now let us look at the Soviet counterarguments. Here we have testimony of Japanese aggressiveness toward the Soviet Union, backed by fundamental historical "invoices" starting with the Russo-Japanese War and ending with Khasan and Khalkhin Gol, we have data about Soviet ships sunk by the Japanese Navy, the concentration of troops close to the Soviet borders in the forties, Japan's alliance with Hitler's Germany on an anti-Soviet basis. This is followed by a package of reproofs associated with the postwar settlement and comprising legal precedents and references to the effect that, from the viewpoint of contemporary international law, all Japanese claims are groundless. The third "basket" includes illustrations of the strategic danger for our country posed by the Japanese-U.S. military partnership which, at least until last year, was perceived as some sort of restraining factor along the path to mutual trust.

Against this negative pile, we have a modest list of positive achievements, which is usually mentioned by our specialists in conversations about Soviet-Japanese relations. This list includes the expansion of bilateral diplomatic dialogue and parliamentary exchanges, determines the growth of mutual interest, notes the rich prospects for potential cooperation, and uses other arguments in a subjunctive mood which sound very nice but are rarely confirmed by real life. Thank God that, since the onset of perestroyka, Moscow has abandoned the "deaf man's" stance in affairs with Japan and relations have noticeably advanced over the last four years; but "feedback" has yet to make its presence felt and, despite all the reciprocal desire to "turn over a new leaf" in the history of mutual contacts, the "old one" is still very difficult to turn over.

Of course, these difficulties can be attributed to the lack of constructive approach by the Japanese, who are proving stubborn and totally unwilling to remove the territorial thorn. But this explanation will not set matters right, let alone lead us to the "highway" of mutual understanding. It is obvious that the new thinking's view of Soviet-Japanese relations, dating back to 1986 when the Soviet foreign minister arrived in Tokyo after a break of 10 years, is now somewhat out of date, while the "room for maneuver" which it brought to our diplomats has already been exhausted.

Despite all the optimistic noises which accompanied the Soviet minister's visit to Japan this fall, this finer point is becoming increasingly noticeable, since the quest for spheres to expand dialogue throughout the spectrum of relations and the "long-term outlook" are certainly sound, but only as long as their importance is not compared against that which provides the basis of relations themselves.

Such a conclusion might generate a storm of indignation, backed by external evidence that contacts with Tokyo are on the ascendant. In actual fact, the sides are actively talking to each other today, meetings between leaders of the foreign policy departments have changed from sporadic to regular, and the range of problems raised at these meetings is constantly expanding. A special negotiating mechanism has been created to discuss questions comprising the essence of the peace treaty, including the most painful question—the territorial. Work is being done on a series of bilateral documents which will crown the Soviet president's upcoming visit to Japan. This is an incomplete list, but it is sufficient to inspire optimism. Nonetheless, I am convinced that there is no point in deceiving ourselves. All these moves do not promise any "radical" and "historic" breakthroughs in relations, since they have no long-term effects and can largely be classed as diplomatic "flashes in the pan."

I am not talking about the propaganda aspects of the issue. From the propaganda point of view (on both sides, as it happens), the USSR president's upcoming arrival in Tokyo is bound to be a huge success in any event, even though the visit will be simply of a get-to-know-your-neighbor nature. Any profound guesswork about its results is nothing but slyness, since it is well known in advance that the trip will become a "landmark" because—if for no other reason—it will be the first summit visit to Tokyo throughout the history of bilateral relations. But if we were to look slightly further ahead and put aside the "grandeur of the moment," it would be impossible not to admit that the current thaw is short-lived by nature, seeing that it does not have any effect on the "permafrost" in contacts between Moscow and Tokyo. Therefore, its potential is also limited—in terms of both time and substance. Our stubborn belief that, against the background of global changes, Japan must inevitably normalize relations with us in order "not to miss the train" is probably justified, but using it as our sole guideline means dooming ourselves to a new round of waiting for "the fruit to ripen." A befitting way to pass the time in principle, but it does need time which, by dint of a whole series of reasons, we do not now have.

Now let us revert to the Stalinist "topic" with which we began these remarks. What is important are not the alternative solutions now being discussed in Japan, but the very idea of a fair revision of past mistakes, a revision which could provide a fruitful opening for really new relations with our far eastern neighbor on a long-term basis. What do we stand to lose by publicly appraising the historical negative balance which is weighing us down? Nothing of importance, provided we disregard the arguments justifying our own deeds which were elaborated over the last decades. What do we stand to gain? Everything we need to establish a truly sincere dialogue based on trust and mutual respect. And what about the territories? I assume that we will still have to live with this problem, seeing that the quest for mutually acceptable approaches is not only painful but also lengthy. The Japanese are as well aware of this as the Soviet side but, in order for them to accept this argument, it seems necessary to take a highly substantial step—to recognize the existence of the "territorial problem" itself in the context of bilateral relations.

After all, officially this problem still "does not exist" as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is mentioned in inverted commas in articles, it is described as "geographic" or something else at talks, and the game of looking for synonyms is becoming almost the main factor when preparing the text of bilateral documents. A large volume of diplomatic courage is displayed on this plane, but the question still remains in reality and the time has finally come to speak about it frankly and tackle it on an equal basis with all other questions of Soviet-Japanese relations.

I deliberately left aside the economic aspect of the matter in this article, guided by the confidence that yet another argument about Japan's interest in Soviet raw materials and energy sources cannot be taken seriously at present. Our country accounts for just about one percent of Japanese trade, and it is absurd to talk about interdependence in the economic sphere against this background. Japan nowadays is fully entitled to economic "whims" and enjoys the luxury of picking its partners not only according to geographic proximity and profitability of deals but also according to political motivations. We are entitled to get annoyed at this interlinkage between economics and politics and call it by different names—but these emotions have either no effect at all or just a minuscule effect of Japanese-Soviet economic affairs. The situation will obviously change if some "light at the end of the tunnel" were to appear. Will it appear?...

Conferees Call for U.S. Pullout From ROK

SK1610042190 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Commentary by station commentator Yevgev]

[Text] Participants in an international conference held in Washington demanded that U.S. forces be withdrawn from South Korea and that peaceful and good-neighborly relations be established in this area. Our station commentator Yevgev writes:

No one could expect just one or two years ago that an international conference could be held in the U.S. capital in which the presence of the U.S. forces in South Korea came into question and, moreover, was resolutely opposed. Such a conference was held recently, and the Cato Institute, one of the prestigious U.S. academic centers, organized this conference.

Profound affirmative changes have taken place in the situation in Asia and the Pacific region and in the world in general, and the improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have led U.S. politicians to reassess the situation on the Korean peninsula. Indications have emerged that relations between the North and South of Korea would be improved. I would like to note that a meeting of the premiers of North and South Korea was held in Seoul for the first time in 45 years and that the meeting discussed the issues of alleviating military and political tension in Korea and establishing contacts between the North and South. The second meeting will be held in Pyongyang on 16 October.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the ROK may favorably improve the situation not only on the Korean peninsula but also in this region in general. Also, Seoul has the intention of establishing full-fledged ties with China, and the DPRK proposed establishing diplomatic relations with Japan. The participants in this international conference in Washington said that remarkable, positive changes in Asia and the Pacific region will alleviate confrontation and military conflicts in this important region and will solve the Korean problem. This is a very logical statement. One of the conditions toward this end is the withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea. U.S. politicians and scholars who spoke at the conference unanimously agreed to this. (Doug Lindou), an important Asian expert, demanded that the U.S. forces and nuclear weapons be gradually and unconditionally withdrawn from South Korea and that the ROK-U.S. treaty on joint defense be abolished. He also said that because no one has the intention of invading South Korea, it is not necessary to defend it. (Celig Carson), an expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, said that the presence of U.S. forces in South Korea aggravates anti-U.S. sentiments which are already strong without it and even poses an obstacle to democratization in this country. (D. Suksuhun), an expert at Hawaii University, said that the complete, unconditional withdrawal of the U.S. forces from South Korea is a major precondition for improving relations between North and South Korea. I think that these views are worthwhile for politicians in Washington to note.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ministry Welcomes UN Resolution on Cambodia

LD1710153590 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—The adoption by consensus at the U.N. General Assembly of a resolution on the situation in Cambodia is evidence that the inertia of confrontation, which underlined the consideration of this issue at the U.N. for the past ten years, has been successfully overcome. This comment was made by a Soviet Foreign Ministry representative in a TASS interview.

This new resolution "displays political will and readiness of the world community jointly to promote peace in south-east Asia". The unity displayed by U.N. members on that issue also showed this world body's growing ability "to seek and find" political solutions to crises, while the resolution itself "creates favourable conditions for resuming the international conference on Cambodia in Paris".

The spokesman emphasized that "It is important to help the Supreme National Council, set up by Cambodians, to begin practical work and to prevent a fresh outbreak of hostilities in the country".

In this context, he said, "the Soviet Union is prepared jointly with other interested sides to promote the elaboration and adoption of agreements on the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, and the elaboration of a detailed plan to implement them with U.N. active involvement".

Bogachev Comments on Cambodian Settlement

LD1710203690 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS military analyst Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—Representatives of the five Security Council permanent member-countries on Tuesday adopted in New York a joint statement on Cambodia, calling for a resumption of the Paris Peace Conference before the end of 1990 to work out an agreement on the comprehensive settlement in that country.

Delegates from Britain, China, the Soviet Union, the United States, and France called on all Cambodian sides to try and overcome differences concerning the Supreme national council president, noting that they would favor the election of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to the post.

On Monday, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution greeting the agreement reached by all Cambodian sides to create the Supreme National Council as the sole legitimate body of supreme authority in the country.

For the first time in years, the Security Council permanent members and the U.N General Assembly arrived at a single position on Cambodia and adopted a decision that was not confrontational in nature.

Nevertheless, consensus on Cambodia at an international level, it turns out, is not enough to establish a durable peace in the country.

During the past few weeks, certain headway in arranging disputes around the Supreme national Council formation was made inside Cambodia. After protracted maneuvering, Norodom Sihanouk eventually agreed to become the 13th Supreme Council member, in addition to six members of the present Pnom Penh government members and six members of the opposition. Differences among the participants in the September meeting in Jakarta remained only concerning ways of compensating for the appearance of the 13th council member, without disturbing the balance of the country's interests.

Sihanouk agreed to the introduction of a representative of the Hun Sen government as a 14th member but refused to make him deputy chairman.

There is hope that organisational problems, connected with membership of the Supreme Council, will eventually be solved on a mutually acceptable basis.

The success of the peaceful settlement in Cambodia can be hindered by the resumption of military action. There are forces in the country which are interested in continued bloodshed. There is every reason to believe that the resumption of military operations by Pol Pot thugs, for instance, will make a conference in Paris impossible. This is why it is so important for all sides to redouble efforts to prevent this development.

'Practical' UN Role Called for in Cambodia

BK1710134090 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Oleg Schedrov commentary]

[Text] The Cambodian problem has dragged on for 11 years. Every year, the UN General Assembly adopts a resolution on this issue. But, at this current session, a resolution was adopted without a vote and with a consensus. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, who was present in New York, called this document historic and noted the fact that this was adopted at the same time as the meeting of the UN Security Council's five permanent members on the Cambodian situation. The relationship between these two events can be clearly seen.

After agreeing among themselves, the five permanent members, which have been in different camps during the entire conflict, have eliminated the confrontation among themselves when discussing the issue. Furthermore, the five permanent members of the Security Council agreed on a detailed plan for the United Nations' participation through concrete activities in a solution to the Cambodian problem. The plan has been accepted by all parties involved in the conflict. This way, after Namibia, Cambodia could become the second country in which the United Nations can really contribute to a peace process.

It is obvious that the ultimate decision should come from the Cambodian parties themselves. However, events of the past month show that a lack of confidence in one another and animosity have really complicated their constructive dialogue. By associating itself with this situation, the United Nations can play both a psychological and practical role. In my view, the United Nations itself has paid great attention to expressing its goal in Cambodia. In essence, this is to transform this body into an effective and prestigious instrument providing comfort to international relations in acordance with the aspiration of the majority of countries.

What is noteworthy is Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's address at the Soviet assembly on Monday. In the speech, Shevardnadze stressed the need to set up clear structures within the framework of the United Nations to enable this body to genuinely contribute to solving conflicts in other regions as well, such as the Afghan crisis.

Chinese Tank Delivery to Khmer Rouge Noted

PM1710105790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Teletype Room": "Chinese Tanks for the 'Khmer Rouge'"]

[Text] The "Khmer Rouge" antigovernment grouping has been armed with 24 Chinese T-59 tanks. This is the first consignment in the two months during which the United Nations, the great powers, and the four Khmer sides have been making particularly intensive attempts to achieve a peaceful solution of the conflict in and around Cambodia. Prince Norodom Rannarith, leader of another antigovernment grouping, has confirmed that the Chinese tanks have been delivered. He said that the Pol Pot forces intend to use the tanks in the very near future, at the end of the rainy season. The heavy weapons are intended to help them extend the bridgeheads seized in northern and northwestern regions of Cambodia along the border with Thailand.

Commentary on Political 'Antagonism' in Burma

BK1710152290 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Commentary by station observer (Viktor Alyuvyev): "Will There Be Negotiations Between the Opposition and the Military Regime"]

[Text] On the basis of some news reports coming in from Myanmar [Burma], observers are posing many questions on the possibility of negotiations taking place between the opposition and the military government there. In this connection we can point out a news report broadcast by the Myanmar Broadcasting Service as example. It says former Prime Minister U Nu and several of his colleagues who are members of the National League for Democracy and Peace have been removed from that party because they have refused to abolish the parallel government formed in 1988. The Myanmar Broadcasting Service however did not give any explanation as to how opposition leaders could be removed from their own party. It seems that facts which are difficult to understand have emerged because of the uncertain situation of the incumbent regime formed by military generals.

The State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC] has been running the country since September 1988. Responsible SLORC officials have quite frequently been saying that there was no need for the SLORC to have a constitution to run the country because it has nothing to do with politics. This being the case, there seem to be no limits to the rights of the SLORC.

Whatever the situation may be, the trend of the political developments in Myanmar appears to indicate that the most important task of the SLORC is to transfer the power to a civilian government. The National League for Democracy [NLD] which won the multiparty elections in May is also making forceful demands toward that end. The military leaders have also agreed to it in principle.

Although the NLD believes that the results of the May elections should suffice for the transfer of power, the military regime is insisting that these elected representatives may only form a constituent assembly to draft a constitution and that a government may only be formed after that new constitution is passed. That is the essence of the antagonism between the opposition forces and the military government. The rift is becoming wider because of the arrest of the NLD leaders by the SLORC as well as because of suspicions that the SLORC is trying to prolong the handing over of the power to the opposition.

Observers believe that direct talks between the military regime and the main opposition force, the NLD, become very important under such a situation. But, all efforts by the NLD for talks with the SLORC have been rejected by the military regime on the grounds that election expenses have not yet been vetted and election complaints have not yet been settled.

Responsible SLORC officials say that they do not wish to discuss political problems outside the framework of law. Whatever the situation may be, the NLD continues to open the door for talks with the military government. The meeting held by the NLD Executive Central Committee on 3 October made that decision. The NLD leaders said the move was not initiated because they want to monopolize the power but because of national reconciliatory and national rehabilitation interests which they have taken to heart.

U Khin Maung Swe, a leader of the NLD, said if the SLORC really had the interests of the state at heart, it was vitally important for the SLORC and the main opposition, NLD, to have talks. The NLD however has not taken any steps to make practical use of the May election results which were in its favor. A recent conference of the NLD leaders has formed a committee to pressure the SLORC into convening the new legislature.

Near East & South Asia

Specialists in Iraq Expected Home Within Month

LD1810090190 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Soviet specialists are returning home from Iraq ahead of schedule. According to the spokesman of the

Moscow-based Ministry for Foreign Economic Affairs, more than 500 Soviet citizens have already returned home. Most of them are oil men who worked under contract in regions bordering on Kuwait. About one third of almost 5,000 Soviet citizens staying in Iraq are to return home within a month.

Iraqis Train in Vladivostok; Body Returned Home

PM1710105890 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by S. Avdeyev and A. Monakhov citing the publications KOMMERSANT and VLADIVOSTOK: "Have You Heard? Have You Read About It?"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On 8 October an airplane on flight 513 landed at Sheremetyevo-2 carrying a zinc coffin bearing the body of USSR citizen Suren Bagdasarov. He died from a blow on the head with a blunt instrument in Iraq. (KOMMERSANT)

Officers from the Iraqi Armed Forces are undergoing long-term practical training at the USSR Navy Training Center near Vladivostok. (VLADIVOSTOK)

Iran-Iraq Diplomatic Relations Reviewed

NC1710124990 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] Iran and Iraq have officially restored diplomatic relations and announced they will open embassies in each other's capitals. The Iranian Foreign Ministry reported that the relevant agreement will be signed in the near future.

Many political analysts believe that Baghdad, by normalizing relations with Tehran, is trying to ease the impact of the international economic sanctions imposed on it. In relation to this, our commentator writes:

Political analysts' desire to assess the resumption of Iran-Iraq relations within the context of a solution to the Persian Gulf crisis is understandable. Today the issue of overcoming the consequences of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait is the most pressing international political problem. This problem has relegated the political process for solving the Iran-Iraq conflict to second place.

However, the connection between improved relations between Iran and Iraq and the Persian Gulf crisis is clear to everyone. It is strange but true that the current crisis paved the way for progress in the solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Baghdad, which following the cease-fire tried to throw a wrench in the gears of a political solution, suddenly recognized the [1975] Algiers Accord which had demarcated the two countries' border before the war. Thus the way was paved for the withdrawal of Iraq's forces from Iran and an exchange of prisoners of war.

Baghdad and Tehran have now agreed on restoring diplomatic relations and this has removed the main obstacle to the signing of a final peace agreement. This is all taking place at a time when Tehran has firmly told the international community that it decisively condemns the aggression against Kuwait and supports the international sanctions against Iraq.

Thus, Iran-Iraq relations are moving in two completely opposite directions. It is natural to voice various doubts and forecasts. For example, the question arises: Is Iran's support for the international sanctions not merely a smokescreen to hide collusion with Iraq on ways to thwart these sanctions? This question becomes all the more timely when one considers the reports that have been received of a large number of trucks carrying foodstuffs leaving Iran for Iraq under the slogan of saving Shiite Muslims from hunger.

I do not think that one can speak of this type of collusion now. It would be difficult for the Iranian leadership to be unaware of the dangers to Iran's own interests if the Persian Gulf crisis is not solved. However, one should also bear in mind that the nightmare of eight years of bloodshed is still alive in the minds of the Iranians and the wounds inflicted by the Iran-Iraq war have not yet healed. This explains Tehran's readiness to seize the opportunity to normalize relations with Baghdad.

However, I think that it is wrong to see Iran's participation in international sanctions and its policy on the normalization of relations with Iraq as two unrelated issues. It would have been more beneficial for Iran, and for the world community in general, if Tehran had insisted on the resurrection of Kuwait's independence as a prerequisite for establishing good-neighborly relations with Iraq.

Afghan Opposition Accused of Border Agitation

91UF0024A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by IAN correspondent V. Bazarov, special for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: "Afghan Opposition: The Aim—Undermine the Unity of the USSR"]

[Text] "The Afghan armed opposition has recently intensified subversive activity against the USSR. Weapons, drugs, and propaganda materials are being brought illegally across the Afghan-Soviet border. Emissaries from opposition groups, entering Central Asian republics allegedly on trade matters or responding to invitations from relatives, are trying to recruit Soviet citizens and are conducting hostile propaganda for the purpose of inciting distrust and enmity between the peoples of the Soviet Union." This is what Abdul Basir, an employee in the state security administration of the northern Afghan province of Balkh, told me in a conversation. "The greatest activity," Abdul Basir added, is displayed by the "Islam Union of the Northern Provinces of Afghanistan" (ISSPA), which is headed by a certain Azad Bek.

This 60-year-old Uzbek, who comes from Bukhara, is a close relative of Ibrahim Bek, well known in the 1930's as the ringleader of the Basmachi movement in Central Asia. Back in the 1970's, while living in the city of Kunduz, Azad Bek tried to organize an anti-Soviet movement in the north of Afghanistan. However, after the April 1978 revolution he was forced to flee to Pakistan and afterwards to Turkey.

"In 1987 Azad Bek reappeared in Afghanistan," said A. Basir. "His first acts, which were directed against the Afghan Government and the USSR, did not find support among the population. However, in 1988, when, as a result of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was resolved, Azad Bek received broad financial support from the intelligence services of Pakistan, Turkey, and the FRG. With this money, he 'bought up' some armed formations that belonged mainly to the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' (IPA) and the 'Islamic Society of Afghanistan' (IOA), which hold a dominating position in the north of the country."

According to estimates, Azad Bek has only hundreds of loyal guards who were assembled from refugee camps in Pakistan, although he declares that the size of his "army" is 5,000-6,000 persons. ISSPA groups operate in the provinces of Balkh, Dzhauzdzhan, Faryab, Sari-Pul, and Samangan which border the USSR.

A. Basir believes that Azad Bek and those like him could hardly count on the broad support of the people. But, at the same time, as A. Basir admits, the situation can change radically, and the initiative can go to the ISSPA, which is rather skillfully arousing nationalistic sentiments among the national minorities who live in the north of Afghanistan. The point of this policy is first and foremost directed against the Pushtuns who, in the opinion of the Uzbeks, Turkmens, and Tajiks who live here, are infringing on their rights and are trying to solidify their positions in the north of the country to the detriment of the native population.

The tensions in interethnic relations that are increasing in this connection sometimes break out into open conflict, which is fraught with unpredictable consequences. In this situation, support is found for the enticing political slogans of the ISSPA, which resound with the demands of the national minorities about granting autonomy to the Turkish population. In the future Azad Bek intends to attain the liberation of the Dvurechye area between the Amudarya and the Syrdarya from Soviet influence and the creation of a pro-Turkish Islamic republic, including the northern rayons of Afghanistan and Soviet Uzbekistan and Turkmenia.

In the opinion of A. Basir, Azad Bek does not have any support in the Central Asian republics. However, the danger should not be underestimated. The security organs of Afghanistan have information that the ISSPA is smuggling into the USSR its publication AYDI, in which there are firebrand appeals for the unification of all Uzbeks and Turkmens. There is information on attempts to ship batches of weapons for conducting sabotage and terrorist actions. On instructions from Azad Bek, ISSPA members must establish ties with their relatives in the USSR in order to be invited, go to the Soviet Union legally, and establish contacts with Soviet citizens who support ISSPA goals. Information is coming in that members of Azad Bek's organization are trying to set up contacts with the population of the border rayons of the USSR through Afghan border guards. It is expected that the ISSPA will further energize its activity in the Soviet Central Asian republics after the USSR Supreme Soviet adopts the law which will significantly simplify procedures for formulating entry into and exit from the country.

"The Afghan leadership is making a significant effort to suppress the anti-Soviet activity of the Afghan opposition, for it is directed not only at undermining the unity of the USSR, but at splitting Afghanistan as well," Abdul Basir said in conclusion. "The success of ISSPA will mean the end of hopes for peace in the region. The possible negative consequences for such a turn of events should also be soberly evaluated by those who are continuing to protect extremists. I am confident that the destabilization of the situation in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union does not respond to the interests of both countries."

'Zionist' Groups Encouraging Jews To Emigrate

91UF0050A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by S. Kaminskiy: "Driven to 'Paradise'"]

[Text] At a recent briefing Rudolf Kuznetsov, chief of the Visas and Registration Administration of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], quoted the following figures: In the seven months of this year 233,680 Soviet citizens left our country to become permanent residents elsewhere. The majority, 132,400 people, left the country on a so-called "Jewish visa." According to Yehuda Weinraub, a representative of the Jewish Agency, in August of this year alone 17,500 Soviet Jews arrived in Israel. I would also like to note that only 0.2 percent of those who have applied for emigration permits have to postpone their departure because they possess certain state or military secrets.

Such are the facts. However, the campaign to put pressure on Soviet Jews is far from subsiding; on the contrary, it is gaining momentum. What is the purpose of this? Why and how is it done?

It has become clear with time that viewed in its present state the country planned by the fathers of Zionism can hardly be seen as paradise and the "promised land." The influx of immigrants is large but not large enough to realize the ambitious and unlawful concepts of building "Greater Israel." The times of pioneers are in the past. More and more often people start wondering whether there is a reason to leave home and the conditions they are used to. It is only natural and human. And it is at that point that the Israeli Government, supported (or inspired?) by the leaders of international Zionist organizations, decides to do what is known as "fishing in troubled waters."

Among other things, they have intensified their longstanding campaign of boosting an exaggerated feeling of insecurity and fear of the future among tens of thousands of Soviet people. But they have not thought of any new approaches. They are using the same time-worn slogan that has, unfortunately, proved its use in practice: "Save yourself from anti-Semitism!" The rumors of the "irrevocable crisis in the state of Soviet economy" are being forcefully spread in our country as well as abroad. And if things get worse, they will start looking for the culprits. And who is always to blame? (As we know from history, this does not always happen in Russia.) You are right, it is the Jews. Primitive, you would say. But it works!

What can the outcome of such provocative measures be? None other than the aggravation of ethnic relations which are tense as it is; they can complicate the democratization process in the Soviet society.

Nevertheless, the "shepherds" go even further sometimes. Certain Zionist organizations of the West, together with Israeli emissaries, are attempting to directly destabilize the political situation inside the USSR. Among other things, they are using diverse methods to inflame relations among various parties and sociopolitical unions in our country. While doing that they are especially anxious to emphasize the differences among Soviet Government and political leaders. There are a sufficient number of ways to achieve this. Certain officials of the Israeli consular group in Moscow are far from taking last place in these "games." There is no need to remind that such actions are qualified through out the world as "interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign country."

At the same time one would fail to find any concrete, typical traits of glaring anti-Semitism in the USSR. Even the American senators, who recently visited our country especially to study the issue, had to discuss this significant fact before an Israeli audience. But it is no secret that anti-Semitism is flourishing in the United States as is confirmed in the newsletter of the "Anti- Defamation League" of the largest Jewish organization, "B'nai B'rith." The same is true of some European countries.

Meanwhile... Dawn has barely come to Ben-Gurion Airport. Two planes have just landed. The crowd of exhausted passengers is led to the arrival lounge where a roll-call is conducted. A few hours later they will come out into the new world, unfamiliar and incomprehensible to many of them, an immigrant's ID and a little money in their hands. What lies in store for them? Is it a quiet and leisurely life on the wonderful Mediterranean coast or is it a rifle in hand under a shower of "intifadah" stones on the occupied territories? Is it a prospering business or everyday misery and an eternal search for one's own place under the sun? Only the future knows the answer. However... It is well known that young Jewish people often evade the draft in the USSR, but they have to do mandatory service in Israeli for a term of 12 to 30 months and they are the ones who get sent to suppress the Palestinian rebellions. Here are some excerpts from the bulletins of information agencies: "The corpse of an Israeli, a recent immigrant from the USSR, was found in Akko. Presumably he became a victim of Arab resistance." "Minister of Immigrant Absorption Y. Peretz spoke about the need to revise the law which sets the criteria for granting citizenship to immigrants. According to the preliminary data, only 30 percent of newly-arrived Soviet Jews will comply with the necessary requirements..."

Our country is going through the process of perestroyka. Many things are changing. Our attitude towards the rights and wishes of every Soviet citizen is also changing for the better. It is a matter of personal choice for every individual where and how he wants to live. The main thing is to have no interference into this process, especially when it violates international law.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Leaves for Vienna Talks With Dumas

LD1810062190 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left here for Vienna today for a meeting with his French counterpart Roland Dumas.

It is not ruled out that an exact date for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to France will be announced at the close of the two foreign ministers' talks.

Soviet diplomatic circles believe that Shevardnadze and Dumas will also discuss the situation in the Middle East. Analysts here draw attention to the similarity of the Soviet Union's and France's approaches to the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the Gulf crisis and to the need to convene an international Middle East peace conference.

The programme for Shevardnadze's stay in Vienna also envisages his meetings with Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

Previews Talks With Dumas

LD1810124790 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Smelov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Vienna October 18 TASS—Prior to his meeting with Foreign Minister Alois Mock after his arrival in

Austria, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze spoke to correspondents at the airport.

Shevardnadze said that Soviet-Austrian relations, the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe, and the Paris summit meeting were all likely to be discussed during the talks.

On his talks with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, Shevardnadze said: "We aim to discuss all aspects and issues connected with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to France. A great amount of preparatory work is currently under way at experts level. There seem to be good prospects for concluding very important and serious agreements and treaties in the field of politics, political cooperation, economics, science and technology."

According to Shevardnadze, the current Soviet-French meeting will focus on the situation in Europe and the world, as well as Gulf crisis. Settling the crisis in this region calls for permanent contacts and consultations, including at ministers' level, he said.

Mock told journalists he hoped that the CSCE summit meeting in Paris between November 19-21 would be a success.

Meets With Austrian Counterpart

LD1810130990 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Vienna October 18 TASS—The Soviet and Austrian foreign ministers today expressed conviction that the 1955 State Treaty and Austria's policy of permanent neutrality retain their importance for the maintenance of peace and stability in Europe, and as the basis for developing Soviet-Austrian relations.

The relations of some aspects of the State Treaty to the changing situation in Europe and the world could be jointly considered in the spirit of traditionally friendly relations between the USSR and Austria, it was stressed.

When discussing practical issues of cooperation, the two men expressed an intention to help overcome difficulties of the transition period in the Soviet economy.

Views were also exchanged on the Gulf crisis.

Treaty Enshrines Troops' Changed Status in FRG

PM1710112790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Bovkun dispatch: "USSR-Germany: New Set of Mutual Commitments"]

[Text] Bonn—FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher and Soviet Ambassador V.P. Terekhov have signed in Bonn a treaty which creates the legal basis for the temporary stationing of our troops in the country and regulates the conditions for their systematic withdrawal, which is to be completed by the end of 1994. The document defines such concepts as "Soviet troops," "persons forming part of them," "personal property," "real estate," which includes military camps, ports, ranges, and buildings, including those built with Soviet resources, and also the territory on which they are stationed: five laender and the eastern districts of Berlin.

The treaty is voluminous and sets out our mutual commitments on cooperation to maintain amicable relations between the populations, state organs, and public organizations of the FRG and the Soviet troops. The main condition is designed to ensure that our military units' presence and withdrawal do not adversely affect the population and the environment. The German authorities have assumed the responsibility of respecting the legal provisions pertaining to Soviet troops, while the Soviet side has assumed the responsibility of respecting the sovereignty of the FRG and German law.

What does this mean for our officers and men, civilian employees, and their families? Our 600,000 Soviet citizens will now be obliged to live here under laws that are new to them—while enjoying the use of real estate here they will observe local legislation, especially in the sphere of health care, environmental protection, and public security and order. The transfer of real estate to FRG ownership will, incidentally, be carried out gradually, as the troops withdraw.

Within Soviet-owned facilities Soviet troops will maintain disciplinary authority and protect law and order. However, the German police will discharge their own functions there if "the basic values protected under FRG law are infringed," that is to say, any violation of the law committed on the territory where our troops are stationed will henceforth be subject to the jurisdiction of local organs. Poaching and damage caused to farmers as a result of maneuvers will be included here.

The German authorities recognize our servicemen's driver's licenses, but on the strict condition that they possess a good knowledge of German traffic regulations.

Permits to visit the FRG, in other words to "leave the zone" where they are stationed, will be issued on application by the Soviet command to the local police on a visa-free basis. Bonn has made it known that such visits will serve to improve relations between our troops and the local population.

Tax concession apply to officers and men almost as they do to diplomats. Persons forming part of the Soviet troops are relieved of any tax on salary or income received from their state or any tax on personal property. At the same time German legislation on questions of social protection and special benefits, excluding legislation in the sphere of social insurance, virtually does not apply to Soviet citizens.

"We take our treaty commitments extremely seriously," FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stresssed in conversatiuon with me. "The qualitatively new relations between our states and peoples must be lived up to in the execution of our mutual commitments. Soviet citizens must leave the FRG with good memories."

As of 3 October this year Soviet citizens in the eastern part of the FRG began living in conditions of a different economic and legal system. It will not be easy to get used to the new commitments: They will be more accountable to the local population and authorities and their own state.

But it is the psychological restructuring which will clearly prove most difficult of all. The change in the political status of Soviet troops in Germany, where henceforth the division between victor and vanquished disappears, will put the question of broad postwar reconciliation between Russians and Germans on a practical plane.

The exclusion of the victor and vanquished category from European relations does not mean insulting the memory of the older generation; it is essential for everyone who wishes to build relations with their neighbors on the basis of trust and partnership.

'Consultations' Held With FRG in Moscow

LD1710204690 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—The Soviet and German Foreign Ministries are currently holding consultations on agreements signed between the Soviet Union and East Gemany, it has been officially announced here.

The consultations are being held in accordance with an agreement between the ministries.

The sides are discussing lists of agreements prepared earlier by Soviet and East German experts. The lists include recommendations on the agreements' prolongation or cancellation.

The businesslike discussion allowed the coordination of positions on a number of agreements.

Consultations will continue with the participation of the ministries and departments concerned.

'Discriminatory' German Political Moves Viewed

LD1810104690 Moscow TASS in English 0946 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS political news analyst Aleksandr Antsiferov]

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—Germany's unification was approved by the entire world community. It meant the recognition of the German's people will, the triumph of justice and common sense. People regarded the unification as a result of collective efforts and a vigorous quest for compromise, freeing international relations of the domination of ideology—in short, new political thinking.

German reunification did not promise to be easy and painless, as the states were based on completely different social and economic structures.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl correctly emphasised in his policy statement the need to achieve internal reconciliation as the most important condition for resolving problems faced by the nation.

Atual [as received] politics, however, while not questioning the appropriateness of this reconciliation, negatively affect its prospects.

Parliamentary secretaries of all the groups in the FRG Bundestag decided to deny the status of a parliamentary group to 24 deputes of the Party of Democratic Socialism (DPS).

This discriminatory move was made immediately after the first elections to provincial parliaments on territory that was formerly the German Democratic Republic. At these elections the PDS received considerable support from the population, receiving about eleven per cent of the poll.

This success promises the party good chances at elections to the common German parliament, to be held early in December, perhaps prompting the undemocratic decision by parliamentary secretaries.

Is there no respect for the will of millions of PDS supporters and those who may support it tomorrow? How can these discriminatory measures exist side-by-side with principles of a rule-of-law state?

Anyone is free to view the PDS as he chooses. However, having rid itself of the legacy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which compromised itself, the PDS is a lawful and viable democratic force and an important factor in the country's political life. It is vigorously participating in the process that the Federal Chancellor referred to as internal reconciliation.

The secretaries' decision runs counter to the Treaty on unification between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Article 42 reads that before the unification, the GDR People's Chamber must elect 144 deputes from its composition as of September 1, 1990. These deputies were to be sent to the German Bundestag of the eleventh convocation.

Attempts to resolve problems by undemocrtic methods, whatever the reasons, do nothing to overcome the old logic of confrontation, which inevitably leads to animosity and division, not reconciliation.

Soviet Hijacker Ends Hunger Strike in Finland

PM1810075290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Untitled TASS report under "Teletype" rubric]

[Text] Helsinki, 12 Oct—Selivanov, a Soviet citizen who hijacked an Aeroflot Yak-40 plane 5 October and was placed in the provincial prison on the decision of the Helsinki municipal court, today ended the hunger strike he declared a week ago. According to a Finnish Telegraph Bureau report, Selivanov's request for political asylum in Finland will be examined next week at a special commission of the foreign ministry.

Selivanov has asked for his psychiatric condition to be examined by Finnish doctors. He insists that this be done after the decision on his fate is made.

The Finnish Foreign Ministry, according to the Finnish Telegraph Bureau report, has received a demand from the Soviet side for the criminal to be handed over; however all the signs are that the Ministry of Justice will request the Supreme Court for a decision on this matter.

Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed With Norway

LD1810044190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Neshumov]

[Text] Oslo, 17 Oct (TASS)—A long-term program for developing economic and industrial cooperation between the USSR and the Kingdom of Norway was signed by V. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, and K. Five, Norwegian minister of foreign trade, in the Norwegian capital today.

The document defines the main directives, areas, and forms of cooperation in USSR-Norway economic relations. The program extends up to the year 2000, and includes joint development of new projects and technologies, the exploitation of natural resources, and the implementation of Soviet-Norwegian measures for environmental protection. The document proposes to use both approved and new forms of cooperation—the establishment of direct links between enterprises, the opening of company and firm offices, and the holding of fairs and other meetings between business representatives.

The program is a brainchild of the work of the intergovernmental Soviet-Norwegian commission for economic, industrial, and scientific and technical cooperation. Last year, representatives of the two countries held a meeting in Moscow, and now they have started talks in the Norwegian capital. Prospects for cooperation in industry, shipbuilding, fishing, and financial problems are being discussed. The acute issue of the Soviet side's debt to Norwegian enterprises, in current payments estimated at 120 million crowns, has been raised.

During the commission's work, a protocol on extending the 18 June 1971 long-term trade agreement between the USSR and the Kingdom of Norway for another five-year period was signed.

BA, Aeroflot To Form Joint Venture Airline

PM1810082090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by TASS correspondent N. Marunov: "Wings of 'Rossiya'"]

[Text] Moscow—"Fly with 'Rossiya' Airline!" —in all probability it will soon be possible to come across an advertisement of this kind in various countries. A memorandum was signed in Moscow 12 October by the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Transport, and the UK airline "British Airways" on the intention to set up an international airline, to be called "Rossiya" and based at Domodedovo Airport.

It is planned that this will be a joint enterprise in which Aeroflot will be the principal partner. The "British Airways" capital investment will probably amount to around 20 million pounds sterling.

B. Panyukov, the USSR minister of civil aviation, stressed the need to establish an alternative Russian airline with a high level of passenger service that meets world standards. It will make use in its activity of the experience of "British Airways," which has achieved great success in the world air transport services market.

If the project is realized, the new airline will begin flights from as early as 1992. Its "wing span" will be impressive: "Rossiya" planes will fly from the runways of Europe, America, Southeast Asia, and the Far East. The hard currency profits will be used to develop the airport complex of the Union's internal airlines.

Paper Reports French Grain Sale Terms Rejection

PM1710105190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 5

[REUTER report: "Struggle for Soviet Grain Market"]

[Text] Paris has made an offer to Moscow to guarantee the bank credits that the Soviet Union needs to buy French wheat. This has been learned from government sources wishing to remain anonymous.

However, it is reported that Soviet representatives have rejected the offer because it was attended by additional conditions, namely a guarantee of stable purchases of grain and also of milk and meat from France, regardless of the volumes of these products produced by the Soviet Union itself. France has already sold the Soviet Union two million tonnes of wheat out of the 38 million tonnes of grain bought last year. The French offer of credit increases competition with the United States, Canada, and Australia for the 30 million tonnes of grain which the Soviet Union could buy abroad this year despite a good harvest.

CPSU Message on Luxembourg CP Leader's Death

*PM1710161990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5*

[CPSU Central Committee Secretariat message of condolence to Luxembourg Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] To the Communist Party of Luxembourg [PCL] Central Committee

It was with profound regret that we learned of the death of Rene Urbany. A prestigious leader of the PCL, a popular legislator, and a talented journalist, he was above all a man deeply devoted to the interests of the Luxembourg working people. His contribution to strengthening the comradely ties between the PCL and the CPSU and developing relations between our countries is indisputable.

We send the PCL Central Committee and all members and friends of the party our condolences. We feel sincere sympathy for Rene Urbany's friends and relatives.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

Supreme Soviet

Supreme Soviet Discusses Market Program

LD1710110490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet session is continuing. On the line is our parliamentary correspondent, Aleksandr Ruvinskiy:

[Ruvinskiy] Yes, the main issue for all the committees and commissions in session today in the building at 27 Kalinin Prospect is the document put forward by the president: Main Directions for the Transition to a Market Economy. I must say that on the whole the deputies are expressing approval of it, although there are individual and specific comments and proposals. One example in particular is a suggestion to change the actual name and to call this document an outline [kontseptsiya]. Obviously, this title, Main Directions, has certain associations for everyone which are not very good. It is proposed that this document be studied as a sort of directive for working out specific documentation which the government and the president will then prepare further. In the course of the discussion it was said in many speeches that this is just the document around which society can reach agreement, and, incidentally, it was emphasized that it corresponds to a significant extent to Shatalin's outline. It was also said that in general the acceptance of this document could, in essence, serve as a starting point for the Union treaty; that is, it would become a sort of economic foundation for it.

I cannot fail to tell you about the reaction here in the USSR Supreme Soviet to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's speech. From those deputies who have expressed their opinion in the course of the discussion, on the whole this reaction from the Russian Supreme Soviet has provoked what I would describe in simple terms as bewilderment. They believe that it is partly caused by the fact that the Russian Supreme Soviet is still not sufficiently familiar with this program, which is at present being discussed here. That is all for the moment.

Republics' Position Key to Debate

PM1710151990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[S. Karkhanin report: "Logic of Compromise. In USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions"]

[Text] As the president promises, the new version of the document on switching to the market has been prepared on schedule. After dinner last Friday the leaders of the deputies' commissions and committees received the draft and within less than two days they submitted their remarks to the elaborators. Almost all their ideas have been taken into account in the amplified document entitled "Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy" which was circulated to participants in the session on the morning of 16 October. No time was lost in starting the debates in the commissions either.

As is well known, before this the deputies had plenty of misgivings. Would it be possible to unite in a single draft the different concepts proposed by the government and Academician S. Shatalin's group? The future document was sometimes described in advance as some kind of "monster" whose only aim is to reach a compromise between mutually exclusive approaches toward the economic reform. It is for specialists to investigate how far the elaborators have coped with their difficult task. In the meantime the deputies are beginning their own "expert assessment."

When they met on Sunday with the scientists who prepared the draft, representatives of the Supreme Soviet recommended a number of important amendments. There was talk of the system for the vocational retraining of cadres, of the problems of loss-making enterprises that cannot be closed because of the specific nature of production, and of guarantees for savings bank depositors. Some [oil and gas] deposits can be leased to foreign firms, but on two mandatory conditions: that the technology is environmentally clean and that the extracted raw materials are thoroughly refined on the spot without shipment outside the USSR. It is desirable to keep the price of bread no higher than the state price.

In telling deputies about this Yu. Sharipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for the Social and Economic Development of Republics and director of the Ufa science and production association imeni Kirov, noted another two fundamentally important points. First, the document is called "Basic Guidelines," thereby stressing that the specific programs for switching to the market will be drawn up in the republics. Second, the text no longer divides republics into Union and autonomous republics; in other words, the discrimination opposed by many RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] representatives is eliminated.

Economic relations in the Union of sovereign republics are defined in one of the first sections of the draft. It is planned to delegate a number of powers to Union management organs, including the implementation of a coordinated credit and monetary policy and currency policy and the regulation on an all-Union scale of prices for key types of raw materials, output, goods, and services, the range of which is to be agreed by all republics. The list of powers is vast but scarcely indisputable. The deputies' commission, for instance, would like to investigate what the formula "leadership of the single fuel and energy system" means. It is one thing if it is a matter of supply lines, and quite another if it is a matter of minerals, for not all republics will agree to transfer to the Union the right of ownership over them....

The 500 days timetable has disappeared from the draft: Deputies believe that it would be almost certain to prove unrealistic. Now the reform will consist of four stages designed to cover a total of 18-24 months. The first stage, the program of emergency measures, has already effectively begun—grain purchase prices have been increased. However, as is well known, even here not everything is simple: A chain reaction of price hikes has hit livestock raising and poultry breeding. Therefore every step of the reform requires a substantial safety margin and precise calculation making it possible to avoid dangerous distortions. One such possible distortion in the near future was also mentioned at the commission session. According to the president's decree, culprits will be fined for failure to make deliveries. But simple arithmetic suggests that the Bashkir Republic, say, will only gain by paying a fine of 1 billion if it has sold its oil to a rich purchaser for 4 or 5 billion.

Fuel prices are real grounds for polemics. Indeed, why are the regions that have to sell their minerals supposed to sell them at firm prices but buy products from their neighbors at free prices? Apparently the new prices entering into force from 1991 will be deemed to be firm prices, and they are double the present prices, so miners and oilmen have no reasons for alarm. "Yes, our north will not be able to hold out on contract prices," Deputy S. Boykov, leader of a team of fitters from Yakutia, shook his head. Of course, you cannot leave the northerners' concerns out of the reckoning. And the deputies can only be supported in their decision to invite representatives of the RSFSR government specializing in these problems along for further discussion of this difficult topic.

"Measures To Squeeze Out the Shadow Economy" and "Social Policy in Conditions of the Switch to the Market" are the titles of the next sections of the draft, which are of particular interest to the commission, for understandable reasons. The document plans to create a strong tax inspectorate, to gradually introduce a declaration of income, to reduce as much as possible trade based on ration cards, to limit the prices of monopolists' products, and to establish increased criminal penalties for dangerous types of economic crimes. In general, the market should hit the interests of underground operators and freeloaders.

"The new economic system opens up the opportunity, should you be so inclined, to start your own business—to organize a cooperative, to become the owner of a store, restaurant, or private taxi, or to create a small enterprise." That is what the draft says. But considerable resources are required in order to become an owner or even a shareholder.... Yu. Sharipov sees the way out as being for people to receive securities for a particular sum at their own enterprises. Some people will be able to use these securities, received in payment, as it were, for the labor invested over many years, in order to embark on entrepreneurial activity. Moreover, this method, in the opinion of the chairman of the deputies' commission, will enable people to feel that they are owners and therefore will make it possible to prevent social upheavals, which only those who have nothing to lose do not fear. The right to intellectual ownership will create conditions and incentives for the blossoming of everything genuinely talented and original. Children, invalids, and pensioners are guaranteed a certain level of social benefits. It is planned to implement the Law on Pensions in 1990-1993, and pensions will increase by approximately 50 percent.

The logic of compromise—how is it observed in the new draft, and how will it be assessed by the deputies who are to devote the whole of this week to debates on the economic reform? According to the preliminary timetable for the work of the Supreme Soviet session, the document is supposed to be adopted on Saturday. Clearly, the polemic will be intense. Especially as in the heat of argument some participants in the session will not be greatly concerned to check facts and weigh their words.

"From a conversation with former KGB General Oleg Kalugin, I have learned that extreme conservative forces which have gone underground are preparing to stifle the reforms with hunger and cold in the winter. Fifty cities in the USSR have been chosen...." That is a quotation from an interview given by USSR People's Deputy N. Medvedev to a Latvian newspaper. Medvedev includes among the conservative forces the "Union" parliamentary group, the military-industrial complex, the KGB, and the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee. He also believes that the conflict between Gorbachev and Yeltsin was purely theatrical. He assigns to Lukyanov the role of henchman and adjutant who is "devoted without flattery," while Ryzhkov is the "whipping boy."

That whole paragraph was culled from the Latvian newspaper SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, which was circulated among participants in the session. The interview prompted an angry reaction among deputies. In general, you cannot describe the atmosphere in the Supreme Soviet on the eve of the debate on the fundamental issue of economic reform as cloudless. How constructively the debates proceed will largely depend on the republics' position. And the commission on the development of the republics invited not only scientists but also representatives of various regions of the country to its next session on Wednesday. If there is a need for compromise, it must be sought together.

Supreme Soviet 17 Oct Proceedings Outlined

LD1710193590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1840 GMT on 17 October carries a 30-minute report by L. Khatayevich on the work of the 17 October USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Khatayevich begins by reporting on the work of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Only one document was discussed today—the main guidelines for economic reform and the transition to market relations. The general conclusion was that the document cannot be accepted as it stands. More work is needed.

At 1842 GMT, Deputy P.G. Bunich says that the document is more like an outline than a program. He discusses the merits of the three options. He thinks that a Council of the Federation needs to be convened; otherwise nothing will ever be passed. Constant compromise is called for at the moment.

Khatayevich then interviews deputies. V.A. Tikhonov expresses his skepticism as to the feasibility of any program of economic reform in the USSR. He recounts past failures in the field of economic reform, particularly on the land, and calls for a compromise version distilled from the existing programs.

V.I. Lisitskiy from the Ukraine talks about shortcomings in the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program, especially as regards price rises. At the moment only the bureaucrats in power perceive an interest in economic reform; the workers are ill- informed and generally hostile. P.G. Bunich then talks about the certainty of price rises. A.V. Levashov talks about shortcomings in the "main guidelines"—they have "a lack of logic." He thinks that there will be a massive fall in output as a result of austerity policies.

At 1856 GMT, K. Grigoryeva interviews N.D. Pivovarov. He speaks of the need to take account of the specific features of each republic. Who will run the future state, she asks. Will it be the Supreme Soviet or the power of the market? Pivovarov talks about the role of the soviets in the new conditions, particularly those resulting from privatization, which has been interpreted in various ways by legislators and public.

At 1901 GMT, K. Grigoryeva reports from the committee for legality, which today discussed the work of the procuracy against the background of rising crime. She interviews S.G. Lushchikov, who talks about the role of the procuracy in the future: it must ensure uniformity in the application of the law throughout the country. He defends a hardline approach in order to maintain standards. He thinks that the procuracy is in the vanguard of the battle against crime—ahead of the Interior Ministry and the KGB. The law must be seen to be done, and everyone must assume a share of the responsibility for seeing that it is implemented. Greater awareness of the law must in inculcated. Deputies should set a good example of competence in the legal field. The committee for legality must maintain constant vigilance, surveying the work of all law-enforcement agencies.

Supreme Soviet Debates Shevardnadze Report 15 Oct

PM1710113390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Morning Edition pp 1, 4

[Report by correspondents V. Dolganov, A. Stepovoy, and A. Sychev from the Kremlin: "If We Halt in Time—We Will Have Something to Defend"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At the 15 October morning and evening sessions, following USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's report, deputies discussed questions of international policy, elaborated a draft resolution, and debated a series of serious problems which have emerged as a result of the processes now under way in East Europe and the Persian Gulf zone. [passage omitted]

Deputy N.S. Petrushenko presented the speaker with a whole series of complaints. He said in particular that he has been put on his guard by the "casual approach toward the possible use of military force, even though it might bear the UN stamp." I would like to say in this context, the orator said, that all wars are launched by civilians, they are launched by untalented politicians, but for some reason the military are instructed to wage and conclude them. The deputy assumes that the foreign minister ought to be made aware of certain negative consequences of the possible use of USSR Armed Forces under the UN flag. These, in his view, are primarily a sharp deterioration of relations not only with Iraq but also with a series of other Arab and Muslim states, as well as the fact that the involvement of a Soviet military contingent in direct participation in armed actions against Iraq will promote enhanced activity by the opposition within the USSR.

N.S. Petrushenko, a professional Army political worker, also perceives the following among the difficulties in carrying out such actions. It is impossible, he said, to disregard the moral-psychological training of our personnel. We, in his words, have spoken at length and for a long time that Iraq is our friend. And suddenly we now have to restructure our work. Army political workers cannot keep up with the conversion of our Foreign Ministry's political views.

There followed a series of other extremely sharp charges against our foreign policy department. Delivering the closing speech, E.A. Shevardnadze said in this context: Regarding the tone of Deputy N.S. Petrushenko's speech, I have no desire to respond to it because—let me put it this way—my upbringing prevents me from answering in the same vein. Let us note that this reply earned the parliamentarians' applause.

Deputy G.V. Starovoytova described the viewpoint of her political worker colleague as a "hawk's position." Deputies V.I. Alksnis, Ye.V. Kogan, Kim Yen Un, Ye.P. Velikhov, A.V. Yablokov, G.A. Borovik, and O.O. Suleymenov also took part in the discussion of foreign policy problems.

The debate participants gave overall approval to a resolution on the question under discussion. The USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee was instructed to finalize it.

A draft law on the introduction of amendments to the relatively recently adopted USSR Law "On General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the USSR" was adopted at first reading. The

RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has approached the Union Parliament with a request to amend this legal act. The essence of the amendments boils down to the introduction of a legal norm: Decisions by local soviets of people's deputies and by their executive and administrative organs, made within the parameters of their powers, are mandatory for implementation by lower-ranking soviets and their executive organs.

A report on this question was delivered by N.D. Pivovarov, chairman of the Committee for Questions of the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies and of the Development of Management and Self-Management.

The session examined the USSR president's submission about relieving A.Ya. Sukharev of his duties as the country's general prosecutor in connection with his retirement on pension. Not all deputies agreed on this. The following opinions were also heard: Individual officials, having ruined their work and contributed toward the exacerbation of the situation in the country, are evading responsibility. Other speakers objected: The Supreme Soviet itself is responsible for the fact that many of the laws it has adopted are not being implemented, not a single person in these conditions is capable of coping with the monitoring of legality and law and order in the country.

The question of the work of the deputies' group for monitoring the activity of the USSR Prosecutor's Office was also raised. Is this not the reason why the general prosecutor wishes to retire and rest, without waiting for the next Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the organ which actually appointed him to that office? On behalf of the monitoring group, Deputy S.G. Lushchikov refuted this claim: These events are not interlinked, he said, since the monitoring work is done according to schedule and is in no way associated with A.Ya. Sukharev's application to retire on pension....

Generally speaking, the arguments were sharp enough. Deputy A.N. Saunin reminded his colleagues that, when the so-called "Gdlyan-Ivanov" case was being examined, the Supreme Soviet decided to strengthen the leadership of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. Is it not time for parliament to hear all the collegium members and consider the extent to which each of them is suitable for the office he currently holds?

Ultimately, it was decided to grant A.Ya. Sukharev's request. The final word will now have to be spoken by the country's Congress of People's deputies.

Supreme Soviet Approves UN Conventions 9 Oct

PM1710162390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 9 October 1990, the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified the UN Convention on the Fight Against Illegal Trafficking in Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 20 December 1988, which was signed on behalf of the USSR on 19 January 1989, and also agreed to the USSR Council of Ministers' proposal to subscribe to the Convention on the Creation of a Council for Customs Cooperation signed in Brussels 15 December 1950.

Political & Social

PRAVDA on Gorbachev Meeting With Trade Unionists

PM1710152990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting With USSR President"]

[Text] President M.S. Gorbachev met with a group of trade union leaders in the Kremlin 16 October.

M.S. Gorbachev briefed those present on the substance of the "basic guidelines" for stabilizing the national economy and the transition to a market economy, which he has submitted for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

During the exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions of social and economic policy it was emphasized that the switch to a market economy is an objective necessity dictated not only by the specific economic situation but also by the strategic tasks of enhancing national economic efficiency. The development of market relations makes it possible to emancipate working people's business activity, to gear production to satisfying the population's needs, and to ensure the real linkage of labor remuneration with end results.

At the same time it was pointed out that under market conditions it is necessary to draw up particularly carefully and implement actively a package of measures to provide working people's social protection against inflation, to ensure the effective employment of the able-bodied population, and to provide material support for pensioners, invalids, war and labor veterans, and students.

Great attention was devoted to the place and role of trade union organizations under the new conditions of economic management and the democratization of social life in the country.

Gorbachev Meets With Sverdlovsk Group

PM1710153990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Talks in Kremlin"]

[Text] On 16 October, President M.S. Gorbachev met in the Kremlin with the leaders of Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, representatives of workers collectives, trade unions, the student body, and leaders of a number of enterprises in that Urals region.

The meeting, which took place at the request of the people from Sverdlovsk Oblast, was fruitful and constructive. Problems connected with the socioeconomic situation in Sverdlovsk Oblast were discussed in the talks, in which all those present participated. Questions which need to be resolved without delay were also discussed.

Gorbachev Denies Comments on Workers' Committees

LD1810080990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 18 Oct (TASS)—Under the title "Fraud", the sociopolitical weekly GLASNOST publishes a notice with the following contents in its 18 October edition:

"The Karaganda Oblast party committee has sent us a document which is being circulated in the oblast's labor collectives. It is called 'Replies by Mikhail Gorbachev at a Meeting With Representatives of Workers' Committees of the Country's Coal Basins.'

"Among the many questions of a conventional, business nature in the document, there is this one: 'What is your attitude toward the strike committees?' Unknown authors make the following reply: 'I share the strike committees' desire to influence the processes taking place in society, but I would like them to take power into their hands more boldly and rid themselves of parallel structures such as town committees, rayon committees, and party committees. I think that at some stage I will need you again.'

"The editorial office of GLASNOST has provided Mikhail Gorbachev's reply. He commented on his alleged response to the question succinctly: 'It is a fraud.'"

Miner Recounts 3 Oct Meeting With Gorbachev

914F0010A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 6 Oct 90 pp 1-2

[Report on interview with V. Topalov by V. Chuprin; place and date not given: "Roads That Led to Gorbachev"]

[Text] **Three days ago, on 3 October, USSR President M.S. Gorbachev met with leaders of the country's mineworkers' movement: V. Topalov, representing the miners of the "Sakhalinugol" Association, and M. Kundryutskiy and S. Savyuk, emissaries of the Donbass.**

We asked V. Topalov to describe the talks.

[Chuprin] Viktor Anatolyevich, what roads brought you to the president's office?

[Topalov] Many questions had piled up. Take just the infamous Decree 608. Mikhail Sergeyevich frankly confessed: It is being reported to me, he said, that it is being fulfilled successfully. But the miners maintain that literally nothing is being done in respect to it.

We explained to the president: Yes, many clauses of this document have already been put into effect. But does the miner get much out of the fact that he receives extra pay for night shifts, the "hoofers"? There is still nothing to buy for the rubles in the stores under the conditions of inflation and shortages.

The decree provides for the construction of apartment houses, hospitals and clinics in the mining regions. It is here that nothing has been done.

I shall not go far afield for examples, I will describe my native community on Sakhalin. We were promised a year ago that an asphalt road 17 km long would be laid to the district center. If a miner is injured, he has to be dispatched urgently to the hospital. It is awful having to say this, but I even told Gorbachev: If a man has not died in the mine, he will die as he is being driven over the potholes. A road to us has still not been built. The formal reason is lack of money.

But a 40-km road was built to the dacha of the former oblast party committee first secretary. And the money was found, apparently.

The most important question troubling us today is transition to the market. The coal industry cannot exist without government subsidies. It is fed by centralized appropriations everywhere, even in the world's most developed countries. We expressed the wish of the miners: prevent the fuel and power complex from being dragged apart by oblast and republic.

Yes, the Kuzbass has highly profitable strip mines, and economic independence is justifying itself there. But the majority of enterprises are unprofitable. What will the orders be for the Central Donbass, where weak seams are already been worked a kilometer down? One's own good fortune cannot be made from another's misfortune. Miners' solidarity cannot be forgotten.

The miners' position is that we need to preserve the ministry. With entirely different functions, of course, and not in the form in which it exists currently. But it is the ministry that is required to coordinate the sector's work throughout the country. Otherwise we will be kicking one another out of the gate.

Mikhail Sergeyevich received our anxiety with understanding. He informed us that a special commission was being formed for the Central Donbass that would study the region's problems most closely. And the market economy would not, he said, entail mass unemployment there.

Gorbachev advised us to go to the pits, talk with the miners and draw up a new package of demands that have not been fulfilled in Decree 608 and to hand it to him personally. "Do not be shy," he said, "I will always find the time to receive you."

The same evening we dispatched the appropriate phone telegrams to the country's coal fields.

[Chuprin] **The edict on strengthening presidential authority appeared recently. Some people are inclined to believe that this step will have a negative effect on the further democratization of society. What do you think?**

[Topalov] You want my personal opinion? Had Mikhail Sergeyevich wanted to be "father of the peoples," he could have very quietly achieved this in the first years of perestroyka, when there was no question of the office of president. Unfortunately, the history of our state indicates that each general secretary starts out by playing up to the people and ends with an inveterate cult of personality.

As far as the present head of state is concerned, I am convinced of the opposite: It is not his nature to lay claim to truth in the last instance. The events of recent years, the development of glasnost and multiple-choice elections merely confirm this conclusion.

The following thought came to me repeatedly during the talks: Had an outsider found himself in the office, he would never have guessed that the president of a great power was meeting with ordinary workers. Gorbachev carried himself this simply and openly.

[Chuprin] **You believe, as I understand it, that the miners should be in closer contact with the government also. Does this not mean an abandonment of the demands heard in the course of the political strike of 11 July? You are no longer urging the breakup of the ministry and are requesting state tutelage.**

[Topalov] I did not say that we are prepared for cooperation with today's government. It is severely guilty before us. And if it wishes to gain a credit of trust, let it prove its intentions in deeds. We do not as yet perceive such an endeavor on its part, alas.

What, have meat and sausage appeared? Earlier they were brought to Sakhalin from Moscow, but there is now no trace of the products in the capital even. Where is there to go? After all, food is a negligible part of the enormous promises that it intended to bestow on the miners.

Instead, one hears continually: Some people are behind the miners, and they want to use them to seize power. Behind us is poverty, social need, and accidents on the job. From January through May of this year we lost 319 of our comrades. This is what is pushing us to struggle for our rights.

Nor is the strike movement generally hatching Bonapartist plans. Yes, various individuals are attaching themselves to it. That same "Rukh," [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] that canvassed the Donbass to participate in an all-Ukraine strike. But the miners did not support this and realized to what they were being summoned....

[Chuprin] **Very well. But the other day a report filtered through from Vorkuta that the city strike committee was once again demanding the dissolution of each and everything at the Union level. Could a government crisis stabilize the situation in society?**

[Topalov] I would refrain from such demands currently. Although I am convinced that my Vorkuta colleagues are 100 percent right. The present leadership consists of people who came from the command-administrative system—trusting it is difficult.

I shall once again refer to Sakhalin. I not only accompanied B. Yeltsin on his tour of our region, but quite often sat with him in the presidiums. What is attractive about his style of work? He wants to see everything with his own eyes. And Boris Nikolayevich visited remote little villages and communities where, I can say with all confidence, an oblast party committee first secretary and oblast soviet executive committee chairman had never before set foot.

The people of Sakhalin were in a state of euphoria: There had been no even remotely notable political figure in our parts since Khrushchev's times. But here was the chairman of the Russian Parliament plunging, if you will, into our dirt.... He now knows about Sakhalin's troubles not just by hearsay. People are sure that he will help.

The same thing will happen in Vorkuta, most likely.

[Chuprin] **One further question, Viktor Anatolyevich. Strike committees have emerged in all sectors, agriculture included. Does this not seem to you, a long-time striker, an abnormal phenomenon?**

[Topalov] We spoke about this with Mikhail Sergeyevich. He assured us that he had an understanding, even sympathetic attitude toward the workers movement—it is, after all, the fresh stream of air that is renewing society. True, the president emphasized that the strike committees should not in their activity overstep the bounds and pursue unattractive ends.

I cannot speak for other sectors but in the coal sector you will rarely encounter people who are speculating on the difficulties. Although it is true also that the strike committees have no great future and that it is impossible to strike indefinitely, under market conditions the more so.

We dream of strong, independent trade unions that are solidly behind the miners.

TASS Reports CPSU Secretariat Session

LD1710213890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—Here is a report on a session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

In defining the party's further course as perestroyka progresses, the 28th CPSU Congress advocated cooperation with all democratic forces without any claims to monopoly in the system of bodies of state power. At the same time, the Congress declared that it did not consider it proper to deprive Communists in the Army, KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs of the right to be members of the party and to set up party organizations, as well as to undertake other forms of political activity.

In a number of places, however, measures are being adopted to provide legal underpinning for the ban on party members holding state posts and on primary CPSU organizations functioning in state institutions. There is a particularly energetic "campaign" aimed at the so-called "depoliticization" and removal from party influence of the internal affairs bodies, state security, procuracy, state board of arbitration, courts, and judicial institutions.

In certain places Communists working in law enforcement bodies are subjected to large-scale moral and administrative pressure. An atmosphere of political uncertainty and lack of legal protection is evolving in their midst, and cases of people leaving the CPSU are becoming more frequent. A proportion of Communists who are highly skilled specialists are endeavoring to leave their jobs, which undermines the mechanism of state administration, the execution of the laws, the protection of law and order, and the anti-crime drive.

All of this requires that measures be taken to counter anticonstitutional decisions about depoliticization and to give assistance and support to all party organizations of the law enforcement bodies, said V.A. Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opening the sitting of the Secretariat.

Taking part in the discussion of this issue were V.V. Bakatin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of internal affairs of the USSR; B.K. Pugo, chairman of the Central Control Commission of the CPSU; A.S. Dzasokhov, O.S. Shenin, V.M. Falin, and B.V. Gidaspov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; and Yu.A. Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the party.

Instances were also cited. In February 1990, the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania prohibited the activity of political party organizations in the organs of internal affairs, state security, the customs service, justice, the procuracy, the state arbitration service, state control, and also in the people's courts. In March a decree on the depoliticization of the law enforcement bodies was adopted by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia. In July the Moscow soviet recommended that officials of the law enforcement bodies of the city of Moscow refrain from joining political parties, organizations, and movements and that members of such organizations consider the question of whether they should be in any party during the period of fulfillment of their official duties in the bodies concerned. The same month, judges and other workers of state and law enforcement bodies were prohibited from belonging to political parties and sociopolitical movements by a decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova [Moldavia].

Those taking part in the discussion of this issue noted that the ban on the activity of party organizations and membership of the party by the staff of law enforcement and state bodies is a direct encroachment upon the right to engage in political activity. Specific articles were quoted—Articles 6, 48, and 51 of the USSR Constitution—and also the relevant articles of the constitutions of the Union republics, to which similar bans are contrary.

This way of formulating the question also runs counter to international agreements to which the Soviet Union's signature is appended, in particular that of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—which states that every person has the right to his own beliefs and their free expression, and also to free assembly, association, and so on—and the international agreement on civic and political rights and the final document of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE member states.

References to foreign legislation which, it is said, contains demands that party membership cease while one is carrying out official functions in state bodies—are they legitimate? No, they are not legitimate, it was stressed during the Secretariat's deliberations. In France, for instance, there is a ban on any discrimination on political grounds, and the freedom of conviction, including the right to join political alliances, is guaranteed to citizens, including those in the service of the state. Any party which has won elections and has been given the right to form the government strives to put its own representatives at the head of the leading bodies, including those in charge of protecting law and order, without demanding that these representatives cease to be party members. Developments in some Union republics of ours show that, in essence, it is not a matter of depoliticizing the state structures, but of repoliticizing them, since the depoliticization slogans are very quickly replaced by slogans calling for ousting CPSU members from state and law and order protection bodies.

Having examined this issue in detail, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat emphasized that everyone, without any exception, must proceed from the provisions of the recently adopted law "On Public Association," Article 16 of which proclaims that persons who occupy posts in the law and order protection bodies are, in their official activities, guided by the demands of the law and are not bound by decisions of political parties and mass public movements which pursue political goals. It is a matter of the supremacy of laws within the framework of which party members occupying posts in the law and order protection bodies must act.

The Secretariat expressed confidence that common sense will prevent anticommunist developments from mounting. Perestroyka has opened up previously unknown paths of transition to a pluralistic society. In order to establish democratic institutions which are necessary for it, time and political experience are required—not destruction or out-of-hand rejection which could only promote the disorganization of state structures and public life.

It was recommended that primary party organizations and party committees begin explanatory and organizational work to secure the communists' rights under the law on "public organizations" to take up posts in law enforcement bodies and to unite in party organizations. For these purposes it is better to use opportunities in the judicial system, including the courts, to protect the lawful rights and interests of the CPSU, its organizations, and individual Communists.

The Communist Party Central Committees of the Union republics and republican party committees of autonomous republics are instructed to take active steps to counter the adoption of legislative acts on banning the creation of party organizations in law enforcement bodies and on suspension of party membership, or to raise the issue that these should be recognized as unconstitutional and as subject to revocation. The party press has been given the task of explaining in greater depth the work of party organizations in state structures to implement the decisions of the 28th Congress and of the congresses of USSR People's Deputies on demarcation of party and state functions, and the activities of Communists to restructure and improve the state apparatus.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat has agreed with the proposal of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Political Directorate on restructuring political education and cadre work in internal affairs bodies. It has been acknowledged that the political bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs system charged since 1983 with organizing political education work, and cadre administrative apparatuses involved with the selection, disposition, and training of cadres in a new, changed situation had failed to unite their efforts to develop an integrated operational process. So far, in the activity of these structures, functions have been mixed up, and there has been duplication and attempts to preempt each other. Apart from this, the CPSU's renunciation of the powers of state authority placed on the agenda the issue of revoking the function of political bodies in the management of primary party organizations.

In this connection the Ministry of Internal Affairs proposes to abolish political bodies in its system. The activity of primary party organizations in the internal affairs bodies will be implemented in accordance with the CPSU rules and decisions of local party committees on whose roll there are Communists working in Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies. The project to set up integrated structures for personnel work within the Ministry of Internal Affairs system received the support of local party and soviet bodies and operational militia staffers. The proposed changes do not require additional staff or financing. The ultimate resolution of the issue lies with the USSR Council of Ministers.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat also considered a number of cadre issues.

Ivashko Addresses Secretariat

LD1710195890 Moscow TASS in English 1942 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 17 TASS—Banning the activity of party organisations and prohibiting employees of law enforcement and state bodies from joining parties directly violates the right of individual to engage in political activity, the secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee stressed here today. It also runs counter to international pacts, of which the Soviet Union is a signatory.

There is especially "vigorous" campaign to "depoliticise" and remove party cells from the Interior Ministry, the State Security Committee, the Procurator's Office, state arbitrage, courts and the Justice Ministry in Lithuania, Estonia and Moldavia. All this calls for measures to counteract anti-constitutional decisions on depoliticisation and to give support and assistance to all party organisations at law enforcement agencies, said Deputy General Secretary Vladimir Ivashko in his opening remarks.

Having discussed the issue in detail, the secretariat stressed that everybody, without exception, should base himself on the provisions of the recently endorsed law "on public associations". Article 16 thereof stipulates that officials in law enforcement agencies, in their service activity, are guided by law requirements and not bound by decisions of parties and mass public movements, which pursue political goals.

The point at issue is supremacy of laws, within which party members working in law enforcement agencies must operate.

The secretariat expressed conviction that common sense wil hamper the instigation of anticommunist feelings. Perestroyka paved the way for transition to pluralistic society. Establishing appropriate democratic institutions will take time and political expertise, rather than destruction and outright rejection, which can only lead to disorganisation of state structures and public life, it was stressed at the secretariat.

Council of Ministers Address Food Supply Situation

LD1710172390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] The operational group of the country's Council of Ministers, which was set up on the instructions of the USSR President, has examined the state of the population's supply of meat and other foodstuffs. The situation has been recognized as extremely unsatisfactory. This has come about as a result of many producers of livestock products not fulfilling their contract obligations. Measures have been outlined to stabilize the situation.

IZVESTIYA Reports 70 Million Below Poverty Line

LD1710211890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—According to official data, the minimum subsistence level in the USSR is now defined as 78 rubles [R] a month, IZVESTIYA reports today. Below that is poverty. Again according to official data, there are over 40 million people below this poverty line. At the beginning of 1990, the country's population was 288.8 million people.

The paper comments on the results of the USSR Goskomstat's [State Committee for Statistics] poll of over 100,000 people in all regions of the country concerning their attitude to work and remuneration for it. More than a fifth of those polled said the sum of between R101 and R150 per month was enough income per individual family member. Almost as many people named the sum of between R201 and R300. A third regards the sum of between R151 and R200 a month quite acceptable. Only one person in ten has his sights on R300 and more!

"People's aspirations for a specific amount of average per capita income depend directly on the standard of living they have reached. It has, in particular, transpired that a considerable proportion of our fellow citizens has become so used to poverty that they no longer even think of having a better life," states the paper.

Further, it cites this data: Last year 7.9 million people had an average per capita income per month of up to R50; 23.8 million had between R50 and R75, and 39.2 million had between R75 and R100.

"Thus, if the official data on the minimum subsistence level is adjusted a bit, to account for inflation, empty shelves in shops, and so on, and if it is evaluated to be somewhere in the range of R100, then 70.9 million people—a fourth of the country's population—are below the poverty line" concludes IZVESTIYA.

PRAVDA on Ryzhkov Meeting With Trade Unionists

PM1710161190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "Official": "On the Way to a Constructive Dialogue"]

[Text] Members of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions Presidium and leaders of sector trade unions had a meeting in the Palace of Labor in Moscow 16 October with the leadership of the USSR Council of Ministers headed by N.I. Ryzhkov. The trade union activists put to members of the government many problems connected with the calamitous state of a number of sectors, the unbalanced nature of the national economy, and the extreme scarcity on the consumer market.

N.I. Ryzhkov pointed out that Soviet trade unions, being renewed and expressing the sentiments of the broad masses of working people, are being increasingly active as a constructive opponent of the government. He advocated creating a finely tuned mechanism of permanent contacts with trade unions, whose honest and principled stand helps effectively to protect working people's interests and to ease social tension in society. The head of government showed special interest in building specific ties with sector trade unions.

CPSU's Shenin Holds News Conference 17 Oct

LD1710195890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, held a news conference at the CPSU Central Committee press center today.

There was no particular reason for this meeting with journalists. The news conference was being held as part of a planned schedule. The Central Committee secretary spoke of the changes in the life of the party since the CPSU's 28th Congress. For the time being these changes cannot be called radical, Comrade Shenin acknowledged. Having got discussions under way even before the Congress, the party is still unable to call a halt and, at long last, to go over to specific deeds, he said.

The lack of action is one of today's biggest problems. Comrade Shenin described perestroyka in the work of the Central Committee. It is, incidentally, here that serious changes have taken place, he asserted. The Central Committee commissions, set up after the congress, now make it possible for each Central Committee member to work in a wholehearted manner as part of this important party body. The Central Committee apparatus has been reorganized. From now on its paramount task is to ensure the activities of the commissions, the Politburo, and the Secretariat. In order to renew the work of the primary party organizations, the question of creating a council of secretaries of primary organizations of the CPSU is currently under consideration, he stated.

Here are some facts which were noted in a conversation with journalists. The new Lithuanian legislation makes it possible for Communists—members of the Lithuanian CP-CPSU—to be held criminally liable for membership of this party.

During the current year 800,000 people left the CPSU, and 200,000 Communists swelled the party ranks. According to preliminary calculations, the party budget deficit will next year exceed 1 billion rubles.

Special measures will be taken in the nearest future for the upkeep of the party press. This is required by the preliminary results of the subscription campaign.

Describes 'Confusion' in Party

LD1710122290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1117 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—No radical changes have taken place in the internal life of the party since the 28th CPSU congress, Oleg Shenin, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stated today at a press conference at the press center of the CPSU Central Committee. He has responsibility in the Politburo for issues of party construction. The atmosphere of the precongress debate on the place and role of the party, whose interests it represents and so on, continues to exist in the CPSU, while it is long since time to get on with practical actions.

A considerable proportion of the primary party organizations are in a state of confusion, Oleg Shenin continued, and are waiting for directives from the Central Committee on what to do and how to do it. There are, however, positive examples. Many grass-roots organizations have found their place in the new conditions, have worked out action programs, and have good contacts with labor collectives, trade unions, and management.

Oleg Shenin noted that the CPSU's financial situation has become complicated. Next year a party budget will be compiled with a deficit of a billion rubles, which will have to be covered from reserves. The deterioration in the financial situation is linked with a rise in the need to provide subsidies for maintaining party organizations in the localities and for the party press, and also with the fall in revenues to the party treasury as a result of communists leaving the party. Oleg Shenin reported that all party organizations, apart from Moscow and Leningrad, including republican ones, which used to provide funds for the treasury, currently need subsidies.

This year about 800,000 people have left the CPSU, and 200,000 have joined, the member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo reported. He said "this process will continue to some extent," although it is difficult to forecast its rate.

Speaking of differences of opinion between Russia and the center in implementing economic reform, Oleg Shenin stated that the CPSU's role in these conditions involves preventing passions from flaring up and trying to reconcile and consolidate Union and Russian organs of power through the Communists represented therein. In this regard, he described yesterday's address at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet by its chairman, Boris Yeltsin, as having "the nature of an ultimatum and of being confrontational." "Mikhail Gorbachev has taken many steps to make contact with Yeltsin. It is time for the other side, too, apart from these general statements, to think about serious consolidation," the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stated.

Sukharev Resigns as USSR General Prosecutor

PM1710142090 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by S. Orlyuk: "A. Sukharev—A Pensioner?"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session heard a speech by USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev and discussed the message from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev who supported his request to be released from his post.

From the Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary, page 1305: "Sukharev, Aleksandr Yakovlevich (born 1923), Soviet statesman, member of the CPSU since 1942. Participant in the Great Patriotic War. Involved in Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] work since 1947. In the CPSU Central Committee apparatus in 1959. First deputy USSR minister of justice since 1970.... USSR General Prosecutor since May 1988."

After heated debates, the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies elected A.Ya. Sukharev as the country's general prosecutor. The 67-year old prosecutor, like his predecessor, is now voluntarily relinquishing his post in connection with his state of health and retirement. It must be noted that this time too, heated debates did not fail to take place, because our legislators are seriously concerned about the activity of the country's law enforcement organs and moreover, if you recall, the Supreme Soviet session that examined the cases of deputies T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov instructed a special commission to study the activities of the Prosecutor's Office.

Yesterday we called Aleksandr Yakovlevich.

"At the moment I am very busy, as I am still occupying my post."

Asked whom he sees as his successor, Aleksandr Yakovlevich said: a good man with principles and an education. Not an intriguer or an opportunist who implements a law regardless even of danger to individuals. Someone flexible, a democrat by nature.

It is worth noting that collegium sessions and the work of subdivisions differ in many ways from what they were like two and a half years ago. The punishments meted out to officials who are indifferent to the fate of orphans and invalids, the decision concerning veterans of the war in Afghanistan who committed crimes during combat action, and the creation of over 70 nature conservation subdivisions and structures connected with the social sphere and the protection of freedom of conscience, testify to this.

Asked whether he intends to fulfill the duties of USSR general prosecutor right up to the Congress of People's Deputies, Aleksandr Yakovlevich said that the resolution of this question is a priority for the supreme power.

Saying goodbye, A.Ya. Sukharev expressed wishes of success.

Yazov, Kryuchkov May Face Resignation Demand

PM1710160590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS-INTERFAX roundup under the general heading: "Telephone. Teletype. Telefax"]

[Text] The Council of Representatives of the Confederation of Labor will demand the resignation of Defense Minister D. Yazov and KGB Chairman V. Kryuchkov if the special deputies' commission confirms the facts of the recent troop movements in Moscow Oblast. As is known, Deputy S. Belozertsev delivered a report on the troop movements at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. However, D. Yazov rejected his assertions.

'No Confidence' Resolution Against Frolov Denied

PM1810084290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Business-Like Meetings"]

[Text] The acute problems of the—multifaceted and contradictory—press and the role of the party press in deepening perestroyka were the subject of lively discussions during the meetings 12-13 October between I.T. Frolov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chief editor of PRAVDA, and working people of Lipetsk Oblast. There was an interested discussion of various aspects of the country's life and the responsibility of the mass media for ensuring order and civic peace. The "geography" of the meetings was varied. I.T. Frolov visited the Novolipetskiy metallurgical combine, whose collective is rightly proud of its proletarian traditions, and the Soviet-Swedish-Brazilian fruit juice production unit "Progress," a quite new enterprise which is the embodiment of the ideas of perestroyka.

In conversations with working people it was often said that PRAVDA and the party press have many supporters. Soviet people are not indifferent to the fate of these publications or the Communist Party. Talking about the newspaper's creative plans, the chief editor stressed that in conditions of the incipient multiparty system and acute confrontation, the newspaper, which remains the mouthpiece of the CPSU, is implementing a consistent course of democratization and renewal. But this does not mean that it is ready to make concessions to forces whose political interests are contrary to the historical choice of society. A genuine campaign to win over subscribers has begun in the country. Only principledness, competence, truthfulness, and honesty can ensure the editorial office unassailable prestige in the "readership market."

During the meetings there were questions about the results of the open party meeting held at the editorial office on 2 and 4 October. I.T. Frolov gave exhaustive answers from which it emerges that a resolution expressing a lack of confidence in the chief editor was not adopted. The truth, as he said, is quite different: The coordinated attacks in some mass media are a reflection of the confrontation growing in society. The editorial office's Communists have asked the CPSU Central Committee Plenum to accelerate the solution of a number of most important questions in the newspaper's life. The plenum, as is well known, deemed it necessary to discuss the problems raised at the CPSU Central Committee.

Railroad Workers' Union Plenum Opens 13 Oct

LD1410111690 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 13 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A Central Committee plenum of the independent railway workers' trade union was held in Moscow today.

[Unidentified correspondent] There is a children's saying that all the earth begins from the Kremlin. But our great railway power clearly begins from this building behind me, the Ministry of Railways. Today however the greatness of this railway power is measured in hundreds of diesel locomotives which are standing along the railways and are not being used; hundreds of thousands of railcars which have not been unloaded; millions of kilometers of lines which have not been put in order; and technical backwardness. What is even more important than all this is the huge lack of rights.

[Unidentified railway trade union workers' plenum participant] The industry has been angered and is angry at a kind of abnormality in our situation, a kind of intention, a very steadfast one on the part of management organs and legislators too unfortunately to leave us as second class citizens. We lack any right to the protection of legal channels, a very large category of our workers do.

[Correspondent] In the hall are members of the independent railway workers' trade union plenum. Three weeks ago their congress demanded: either abolish the disciplinary rules on the railways, or a warning strike will occur on 15 October. One of the main actors in the conflict is Minister [of Railways] Nikolay Semenovich Konarev. Literally the day before his doctoral dissertation had been approved in Leningrad. He was late for the plenum because of urgent matters and so the interview is in the foyer.

[Konarev] I am very glad that the academics at the Leningrad institute unanimously voted for presenting my work to be defended.

[Correspondent] I am far from convinced that the technical ideas of the future Doctor of Sciences Konarev are capable of outweighing everything that was said to Minister Konarev in the form of criticism from the plenum rostrum. He even had to apologize to the trade union plenum, of which he has been a member for 46 years, for "antitrade union actions," as they were called here. Well, in all good fairy tales you will recall there is a good ending and the same is true of our report. From 1

January the disciplinary rules on the railways are abolished. So there will be no strike on 15th, on Monday.

CPSU Science, Education, Culture Commission Meets

PM1610131190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Commission at Work"]

[Text] A working meeting of the CPSU Central Committee Science, Education, and Culture Commission formed at the CPSU Central Committee October plenum has been held. It was decided to hold a commission session in the very near future to examine measures to implement the 28th party congress resolution "On CPSU Policy in the Sphere of Education, Science, and Culture," and to approve the commission's regulations and its work plan for 1990-1911.

Confederation of Soviet Trade Unions Envisioned

LD1510183190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0834 GMT 15 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yegorov]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Oct, (TASS)—The Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR [AUCCTU], which for many decades has professed the principles of democratic centralism, is, judging by everything, living out its final days. The 19th congress of the country's trade unions is to be held in Moscow 23-27 October, and a new structure, a confederation of Soviet trade unions, should then be born. The overwhelming majority of Union republic trade union centers already voted for this at their national congresses.

In its present form, the AUCCTU, which formally united more than 140 million working people, represents an almost classic example of the administrative command structure of the stagnation period. In the content and method of its work it has become completely cut off from reality and, as shown by the mass strikes of 1989-90 in various areas of the country, it has lost the chance and ability to govern the working movement, and as a result has lost prestige among working people.

The process of rejecting a unitary trade union structure has already begun: This year a Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FITR], a Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Georgia, a Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Lithuania, a Union of Free Trade Unions of Latvia, a Central Union of Trade Unions of Estonia, and a Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Uzbekistan, have come into being.

At the same time, the working people of the country are well aware of the need to retain unity of action by the trade union centers of the sovereign states, uniting on a voluntary basis of equal rights during the future signing of the Union treaty. In conditions of an all-Union economic market, with a great variety of forms of property and types of employer, only coordinated actions by the trade unions will help defend the rights of the working people when tackling such problems as the value of the work force, migration, employment, the state-wide jobs creation program, social guarantees, and pension provisions. No less topical is the development of a united stance by the country's trade unions in the international trade union movement.

That is why the Russian Federation, which is heading the restructuring of the USSR trade union movement, has proposed immediately, during the forthcoming congress, embarking upon the formation of a single trade union center for the country on a fundamentally new basis. In the opinion of FITR, the functions of an all-Union electoral body could be carried out by a coordinating council, with just a few members, and formed from an equal number of representatives from each member organization. Meeting when the need arises, it could make major decisions, delegating urgent work on specific problems to an apparatus of consultants and experts, kept to a minimal number.

Marxist Platform Member Addresses Plenum 9 Oct

PM1610142390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 90 Second Edition p 6

["Text" of speech delivered at 9 October session of CPSU Central Committee Plenum by A.V. Buzgalin, senior lecturer in the Political Economy Department of the Faculty of Economics at the Moscow M.V. Lomonosov State University]

[Excerpts] Comrades! Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev began today's plenum by calling on us all to consolidate around the program for the switch to the market. I think that this is nevertheless an illusion. An illusion that repeats everything that we have already done many times in the last five years.

Perhaps I am being too harsh, but there is the so-called "tactic of Leopold's cat" [TV cartoon character], who would call on everybody: "Let's live in harmony, guys." What are the forces that we are urging to live in harmony today? Are we really united in pursuing this tactical and strategic line? We, meaning Communists and liberals, we, meaning Communists and monarchists, we, meaning Communists and the many, many other strata of our society that are tearing the country to pieces?

Markets can differ. A very great deal has been said about this. Moreover, today it is practically clear that if the market goes in the direction of the Shatalin program, in the direction of developing private ownership, tomorrow the only way out in our country will be an Eisenhower-type administration, the administration that existed in the fifties in the United States, with tightening of the screws, persecution, and a "witch hunt." The ruling Communist Party does not need such an economy. Such an economy will squeeze it out. And not for nothing are most supporters of this program directly looking to remove the Communist Party from the arena as a ruling party.

Moreover, they have practically already done this, and you and I have helped them in this. Is there an alternative? There is. Communists can and must implement this alternative. We say "yes" to the market only if labor collectives, citizens, and mass democratic organizations are the masters in it. Are there such alternative programs? There are. They are elaborated both by academic institutes and by many other scientists.

Today we can consolidate. I am not contradicting myself. We can consolidate only when there is a bloc between two forces. One force already exists. This force submitted the Shatalin program, prior to that submitted the "400 days" program, and so forth. If the CPSU constitutes a political force, then a consensus bloc and a compromise line are possible. If we do not constitute such a force, there will be no consensus bloc. We will be simply removed from the arena.

Why do I say that? Let us take a look at ourselves. Perhaps I am again being harsh, but a fish rots from the head. I mean the Central Committee, not just the Politburo. We could not meet for a plenum for three months. And three months is an eternity in the conditions of this summer. Some people will say: The Secretariat is to blame. But did we ourselves display any real initiative? We Central Committee members, myself included? Okay, I went to the Secretariat. Okay, I asked if there was going to be a plenum. Is that enough? No.

The program commission is not functioning. The commission on privileges, which everyone is already tired of mentioning, everyone is fed up with this, I have no idea whether it has done anything or not. Three months have passed, people expect results, we are still meeting in a staggeringly splendid hall which should long since have been handed over to cultural institutions, but where are the results? Central Committee members still receive privileges, miserly ones, but privileges nevertheless—special lists for literature, diplomatic passports, and others. I personally have already run up against this.

When you go down to the primary party organization, you run up against virtual paralysis of power. I have been to Vorkuta, Magnitogorsk, Bashkiria, and Moscow party organizations. Is there a way out?

Here are a few fundamental points.

One: The party must be cleansed of dead wood. Today the key problem for many party organizations is how to convene a party meeting and whom to elect to the party bureau. Is this real work? No. Today Communists who do real work, those who want to "plow the soil" in their leisure time without payment, at best make up probably 10-15 percent of our millions-strong CPSU. Let us give these people the chance, so to speak, to reregister as party members. There is a reason for this, there is a chance to declare that we are members of the RSFSR Communist Party or some alternative organization, members of a Union republic Communist Party, and so forth. Unless we do this we are going to go on carrying this bunch of people who do nothing. Perhaps many people do not want to work, but want to express sympathy with the party, so let us introduce the institution of supporters of the party.

Two: We must certainly rely on horizontal structures in the party and create action groups, party clubs, and any other structures, since many party obkoms [oblast committees], gorkoms [city committees], and raykoms [rayon committees] are paralyzed.

Three: We must nevertheless try at the bottom and at the top to really renew the apparatus of gorkoms and obkoms, above all these organs' leaders. We must bring into them the youngest talented people at the grassroots, who have never been involved in this nomenklatura. Let them begin to do something in a new way even if they make mistakes—better mistakes than inaction.

The next point: We must create a system of new party leaders within the framework of the new election campaign, which will begin any day now. They must be tended, nurtured, fostered, and propagandized today. Such leaders can be counted on the fingers of one hand. There are very few people who can argue from the platform on equal terms with Sobchak, Popov, and Yeltsin. Are there such people in the republics, in cities and settlements? I think there are, but they must be found and supported, and we must not be afraid that they will squeeze us out of our jobs.

Now for probably the main point—the ideological struggle within the mass media.

Unless we go onto the offensive here today, tomorrow will be too late. And the offensive must be mounted by the most serious means. A pamphlet war, a poster war, speeches at rallies, the ability to put forward an alternative in the mass movement, the ability to join pickets or another event and to also organize pickets against nationalist, profascist, and anticommunist organizations. By those tough means. The ability to support any talented journalist. Let him curse the Central Committee, let him curse the Politburo, Gorbachev, or someone else, but if he espouses the socialist, consistently democratic idea, then support him, help him, give him the opportunity to express extremely tough but constructively critical words in a party newspaper. If the newspaper has been taken away, produce a pamphlet. [passage omitted]

In the rayon, enterprise, organization, and oblast there is a most important task for the next two or three months: Communists must take hold of the chain from production to supply, where the bottomless pit in which everything we produce and purchase abroad vanishes has emerged.

Yes, of course, it would be nice if there were a normal market mechanism. But what are we doing today? Today we are proclaiming the market with one hand, and with the other hand the president publishes a decree that preserves all the former economic links for 18 months. I cannot imagine how it is possible to switch to the market when these links are preserved. We must make a choice. And, incidentally, we at the plenum should consider what we support in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's activity—the former or the latter.

What are grassroots Communists to do? Over the next two or three months at least emergency efforts can be made. They can unite with consumer unions, trade unions, and workers and strike committees in order to trace the chain and find out where output is being lost. This is not all that difficult. If we are Communists let us gather people together, let us go along and act, as the people's fronts in Yaroslavl and other cities have acted. Let us obtain the powers for this from the soviets. If the Soviets do not give us the powers for this, let us form an opposition to these soviets, because in this case this will be an antipeople policy on their part. Let us organize at long last direct contacts between Communists in labor collectives, as was done during the first months of emerging from the crisis after the October Revolution, when factory and plant committees headed by bolsheviks resolved these problems.

There is one more task that is highly important in my view—joining in the work of mass democratic movements. Today these movements—worker, environmental, consumer, cultural—are, I emphasize, the only real mass, grassroots alternative to the mounting power of the future totalitarians, but totalitarians on a basis of private ownership, so to speak. Today these movements will reject us if we go to them as patrons or political leaders. Their mood is opposed to the CPSU today, and they have their reasons for this. We ignored them, and before that we stifled them, or at any rate they were stifled in the name of the party. The only chance of joining them today is to take on the worst donkeywork, the most thankless jobs, without laying claim to any leadership. If we begin to do this donkeywork better than others, we will become people who are needed in their own right in these movements.

I would like to conclude this speech with a few theses that I believe are needed today, 9 October 1990. One: Unless at the plenum today we create on our own initiative, without waiting, so to speak, for additional valuable instructions from anyone, temporary collectives to resolve at least the problems I have mentioned, it will again be quite pointless. Commissions would not be convened, just as the program and other commissions have not been convened.

Two: I propose that a group be created this very day to elaborate an alternative, on the basis of the ideas of the Democratic Platform remaining within the CPSU and of the Marxist Platform, of which I am a member, a group to elaborate a party program. I am prepared to help unite Central Committee members in such a group.

Three: I personally am going to renounce any privileges granted to Central Committee members, and I propose that all other Central Committee members support this statement and sign it.... Do we receive special book trade lists? They say not. Fine. So no one should receive them. I personally have received them and renounced them. We are granted the right to use diplomatic passports. We are granted the right to use... Okay. Since you demand it, I am winding up my speech. I have simply said what I have run up against during these three months of work.... All the same, I want to say one last thing. In any situation we are very fond of criticizing those who are above us or those who are below us. The last thing we want is to look at ourselves. But I would like us Central Committee members above all to take a look at ourselves and think about our own self-organization.

Primakov Interviewed on Market Transition

914A0019A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 11 Sep 90 p 2

[Interview with Academician Ye.Primakov,member of the Presidential Council, by special correspondent S. Sergeyev: "'I See No Point in the Fall of the Government'"]

[Text] [Sergeyev] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, I would like to hear the opinion of a member of the Presidential Council concerning today's domestic policy and economic situation.

[Primakov] The transitional period is proving extraordinarily difficult, and there are several reasons for this. They consist of both the past and the mistakes made in the period of perestroyka. In previous years, the highest echelons of power and the people did not always obtain reliable information concerning our economic development. The World Economics Institute, where I formerly worked, put the level of the USSR's national income in the 1970's, in accordance with its research, at approximately 40 percent of U.S. national income. But the Central Statistical Administration had constantly, from even earlier times, produced other stable figures—67-68 percent. And without regard, what is more, for natural fluctuations in the production level and without consideration of the rises and falls from year to year.

The course of development is being impeded currently by stereotyped thinking to a large extent. People's mentality is not receptive to the market economy—the Communist Party of the RSFSR Congress was a striking example of this. But mental receptiveness is not created overnight: What was rejected yesterday is today becoming customary. I often catch myself being conservative on certain issues. There was a young scholar, very promising, thoughtful, and with fine instincts, who worked under my charge. Having become a member of the Presidential Council, I was able to offer him the position of my assistant. This young man is now minister of finance of Russia. And he has begun his work outstandingly.

The most difficult matters currently in the country are concentrated in the economy and interethnic relations. Two approaches have clashed in the economy. The idea of independence, with the euphoria that has arisen around this and the aspiration to make maximum use of their rights and achieve a maximum of independence, is dominating certain Union republics. On the other hand, there is the center, which is endeavoring with all its might and main to preserve the power it failed to justify previously.

There is also in the transition to the market the dialectic of independence and a single all-Union market. Several approaches are clashing here also. Some of our opponents are citing Europe as an example, which at first delimited spheres of action, taking the path of the creation of strong national economies, but is now uniting. But our situation is different. We already have a common market, albeit created by administrative command methods, but it exists, and fragmenting it would be illogical. This would be nonsensical both economically and politically.

Other opponents are attempting merely to disguise centralization, having paid lip service to the abandonment of the command administrative system, and to preserve it in practice.

How do I understand the republics' economic sovereignty? This means primarily the opportunity to obtain tax from the payments of all enterprises operating on its territory for the recovery of minerals and for raw material resources, including in foreign currency. The possibility of the attraction of capital. And, necessarily, an independent social policy, but not one lower than the fixed union level. Complete environmental control and the right to close down enterprises in violation of environmental protection requirements.

It is important to understand, after all, that the all-Union market cannot be a market of territories, only a market of manufacturers. Economics have their own laws, which cannot be circumvented by arbitrary methods. Therefore now, when the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, say, is concluding agreements with other republics or regions, it is disrupting progress toward the market. For example, that same Kama Truck Plant is ordered to exchange, say, 100 trucks for X tonnes of cotton in Uzbekistan. But this directive causes the enterprise direct harm for it forfeits the possibility of free choice. This is in principle a manifestation of the same style of leadership that brought the country to the edge of the abyss. It eliminates the possibility of transition to the market. Negotiations cannot proceed according to the 15-plus-zero formula, they must be conducted on the 15-plus-one formula. The Union must be the "one" here.

[Sergeyev] Which program for overcoming the economic crisis is more to your liking—that of the Shatalin group or the government program?

[Primakov] I prefer the efforts of the Shatalin group, but they contain weak spots. These two programs are currently being honed, and the conciliation commission is working very intensively to present the Supreme Soviet session with a single program.

But the following situation is being superimposed here, and you need to know this. The center has already handed over the solution of many questions to Moscow, Leningrad, and the republics and is not in a position to direct everything. Other laws have already taken effect. Moscow now has a problem with bread. You may point to the Union as much as you like. But in Moscow currently the stocks of flour are sufficient for 40 days—this is above the norm even. But there is a bread shortage—there are insufficient hands at the bakeries. But this is purely a problem of the Moscow City Soviet. Or take the tobacco crisis. It did not arise because of dozens of tobacco factories stopped for maintenance. A year ago Nikitin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who has now been dismissed, signed a paper for a 20-percent reduction in tobacco purchases—everything had been gauged. But the consequences were not foreseen. And, as a result, the areas sown to tobacco were cut back. And the factories opted for maintenance because they had no material. In this case the center was to blame.

To bring order to bear in the economy we will most likely have to apply draconian measures also, otherwise no program will lead us from the impasse. The presence or absence of a shortage of basic necessities will have a position of vital importance, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev holds a very strict position on these matters.

I will now say a few words about interethnic relations, in which tension did not manifest itself all at once. The problem was in various ways, by repressive methods included, driven deep. The situation is now different, but it has not exhausted the matter. I would like to speak about my vision of the problem. We now wish to prepare a Union treaty according to which the republics themselves transfer to the center the functions that, in their opinion, should be assumed by the center. Everything else will remain their responsibility. But is there any assurance even under such conditions that the separatist forces will cease their attacks? There is not. Consequently, it is necessary to formulate an approach whereby the diktat of the center is precluded. And it is economic expediency that comes to the fore here. I recently appeared on Georgian television, and I was asked: What if Georgia secedes from the Union entirely? I proposed the formation of an expert group of specialists and representatives of various formal and informal movements and all political forces that would closely analyze the consequences of and need for such a step, in order that precise calculations be made as to how much the republic would require of what and what it could secure itself and what it would have to purchase at world prices for hard currency. What tourism would come in and who would go there? People from the Union, most likely, because it is hardly likely that the French, Italians, or British would come here from the Aegean or Adriatic.... Not to mention the fact that it would be necessary to create an army to deter neighboring states, which would have to be armed and equipped.... All this is beyond the capabilities of a single republic. At the same time, however, we are endeavoring to eliminate the deformations that existed in relations between the republics and the center, when matters of extreme importance for a republic were decided by the stroke of a ministerial pen and when some things came to be built on its territory without its consent even having been sought. We need to abandon this, but create conditions where the republics have an interest in being members of the Union. If, however, this does not occur even then, we will most likely need to conduct a referendum. From my viewpoint, on all territories of the compact residence of the nonindigenous population. And, after this, to negotiate in civilized manner what comes next.

I would like to say a few words about the currents in the social consciousness that are connected with active criticism of Marxism. It is frequently presented too dogmatically, certain quotations being extracted. Such an approach is alien to us. But does this mean that we should abandon Marxism? Marxism is an extraordinarily important methodology for the cognition of evolutionary processes. Earlier the official view was that the socialist system that had taken shape in our country was universal both horizontally and vertically and that it was suitable for all countries, and we not only propounded this idea but also foisted it on others, regardless of the specific conditions of this country or the other. Of course, socialism is not some dogma; it is infused with life and is created as a result of man's development. But, following Stalin, we declared that, as distinct from all other formations, the socialist formation had only its material roots in capitalism and that in social relationships there was nothing in common. This precluded the possibility of a realistic view of the world that surrounded us and the processes that were occurring. After all, capitalism today is by no means the capitalism that existed prior to the Great Depression even. It is a capitalism with socialist interspersions. Even Lenin said that socialism looked out on us from every window of contemporary capitalism. After all, capitalism also leads to tremendous socialization, and the question then arises: Is only the path of revolution possible or is evolution also possible?

[Sergeyev] Yevgeniy Maksimovich, what is your evaluation of the present international situation in the context of our perestroyka?

[Primakov] In its military and political confrontation the world had by the 1980's approached that fatal line beyond which the danger of the annihilation of all human civilization clearly loomed. And the fact that disarmament is under way and that the cold war is over is to the tremendous credit of the restructuring processes. But this does not yet mean that there is no going back. It is now that we are negotiating a vast area of ordeals because previously absolutely all regional conflicts were inscribed in the confrontation between the USSR and the United States. This had its drawbacks, but also its advantages because we were in any event able to negotiate with the Americans and halt an undesirable or dangerous development of events. This is not now the case. The present crisis in the Persian Gulf and Iraq's aggression lie outside the framework of our former confrontation. The situation there is now very serious, and it will be most seriously studied at the meeting of the two presidents in Helsinki on 10 September (the interview with Ye.M. Primakov took place on 5 September—author).

[Sergeyev] But, nonetheless, disarmament, and not unilateral, what is more, is proceeding. Conversion is as apropos as could be for our country, exhausted by the arms race also....

[Primakov] Earlier I thought that conversion would cause primarily social problems connected with the reorientation of industries and people's retraining, but I now see that the essence of the problem lies elsewhere. The best minds and magnificent engineers were assembled with us in the defense sector—this was the way things turned out—and this sector itself was a step ahead of the other sectors. Now conversion is under way, and it is not proceeding as it should. In our country we lack intricate modern equipment, and attempts are being made locally to reorient the defense enterprises toward the manufacture of consumer goods, saucepans and skillets. With this approach, conversion will not work here. Defense industry will naturally merge with the national economy if the country makes extensive use of its potential.

[Sergeyev] We are now living at a time when it is very difficult to forecast not only situations and events of the near future but also the next day. What can you now say about the predicted fall of the Ryzhkov cabinet?

[Primakov] Yes, I agree that we could not progress without forecasts. The forecast itself does nothing—situations need to be played through. We are involved in this in both the economic and political aspects. The added value of forecasts is that, even if they do not necessarily come true, they awaken thought, create an alternative and induce reflection.

As far as the government is concerned.... Certain blunders and weakness that it has displayed are evident—this is a fact. And you have, most likely, noticed that the president's exactingness toward the executive authority has now increased. But I personally believe that the resignation of the government now would make no sense. Some of its members who are not pulling their weight need to be replaced, perhaps. But a wholesale replacement... I would not agree to this now. Mainly because this would lead to lengthy discussion, lines at the microphones in the Supreme Soviet meeting halls and the loss of weeks, if not months. We do not need such a show right now. I will say honestly that there are forces that aspire to this and are saying outright that replacement of the government is the first step. It would then be the turn of the Congress of People's Deputies. That is, some anticonstitutional coup is intended. Such a thing cannot be allowed. Society must live and develop according to the laws. And we now need to concentrate on the solution of problems of the transition period, of which there is a surplus in the country.

Army Paper Denounces 'Pseudodemocracy'

PM1710112890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Oct 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Colonel B. Pokholenchuk under the "Publicist's Notes" rubric: "The Hunt"]

[Text] I had scarcely entered the trolleybus when I overheard snippets of an argument at the far end of the vehicle.

"Hey there, you Communist!" said a burly young man, seizing an elderly man by the lapels of his jacket. Another one smirked and sneered: "Let us see if your party card will save you now!"

Admittedly, uproar broke out. Fortunately the trolley reached the next stop and they got out, shouting from the platform: "Do not let us catch you again, Communist!" They really relished that word.

I recognized them. About two hours before I had come across them in a cooperative store on Tverskaya Street where I went out of naive curiosity. Among the exotic foreign wines and cognacs with the even more exotic prices, these muscular young men accompanied by a third man seemed in their element.

"Well, shall we take two or three?" they were asking each other cheerfully. They opened their packed wallets and went to pay the 240 rubles [R] for the three bottles. I wondered: Who are they? Brazen black-marketeers; glib speculators? Those people who rush around the auto showrooms or who exchange banded wads of banknotes at the Riga market in Moscow? Or those who trade in nesting wooden matreshka dolls at R500 each on the Arbat (the store price is R7-R10, but you will not find any in the stores nowadays)? Furthermore, hardly anything is sold for rubles but if you have dollars, they will speak fluent English. A new stratum of bosses is coming into being—politicized plunderers with a thorough training, often higher education. They travel abroad, too. They have created an illicit free enterprise zone around the Bolshoy Theater and are keeping it firmly under control. They have established their sphere of influence and are essentially terrorizing people at Sheremetyevo-2 international airport. Yes, the list could go on forever. They are legion, and moral boundaries are anathema to them.

In the evening Leningrad television broadcast a conversation on the theme of attitudes toward the CPSU and socialism. The conversation featured people of various views including foreign political scientists. At various points during the transmission video stills of an anticommunist rally were interposed. This was a spectacle, of course! Both in the slogans and on the faces there was that vulgarity, hysteria, and malicious gloating as in the trolley episode. No wonder—they were examples of a single phenomenon.

And its name—our own, home-grown anticommunism. And our version is so savagely crude that even hardened Western anticommunists are dumbfounded. They try to fit our anticommunists into some kind of civilized framework at least. A fact which, incidentally, also distinguished the foreign participants in the Leningrad TV talk show.

Briefly, then, we are dealing once more with a political opportunism which is gambling on exploiting the mentality of the mob.

I have already written on this theme in the article "The 'Luddites' of Perestroyka" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 19 May). Now new factors have emerged. The main one is that those who are "rocking the boat" have defined a precise political goal. For some it is the seizure of power, for others, it is to achieve dominance in various spheres of life. While others still are the gunpowder, the battering ram, the tumultuous tidal wave, call them what you will. In short—the means.

Second: The precise target against which the various destructive forces are directing their fire has been defined. It is the idea of the socialist choice and the CPSU as its repository.

Third: There is in progress what I would call a "travkinization" of a number of social formations (Democratic Party leader N. Travkin began with humanist slogans and moved on to the outright proclamation of its rigid anticommunist character).

And another point: Destructive forces are finding it increasingly difficult to hide behind the banners of the general democratic process.

At that time, one of the responses to the previous article contained the following question: "So do you think that all informal movements and rallies are destructive Black Hundred-type phenomena?"

I do not. People are brought together in a movement or the crowd at a rally by an aim. It contains not only the leaders' type and the point of what is ahead but also its spiritual level. I cannot imagine that a rally or political meeting dedicated, for example, to the revival of national traditions such as would be addressed by Culture Minister N. Gubenko and Academician D. Likhachev would issue threats and thunderous appeals, or that the crowd would turn into a brutal mob. It is a different matter when at a demonstration the slogan "Smash the CPSU" is hysterically used—this is an appeal to the Lumpen, to the philistine stratum, to those who are easily duped and goaded into action. The science of social psychology teaches that there are quite a few like that in every society. It all depends on the conditions for their activation. Unfortunately, in our country these conditions are assiduously (sometimes simply thoughtlessly) formed.

Today surely the most dangerous thing for our state is the deliberate exaltation of people, the hysterical appeals to excited crowds, to the Lumpen (nowadays an interesting concept has appeared: the Lumpen-intelligentsia). A people's deputy involuntarily admitted to our correspondent: "Do not reveal your feelings when you are standing on a rostrum and a sea of heads is heaving in front of you." They are greatly deceiving themselves, pathologically admiring their own exaltation above the crowd—this is a shaky support, a dangerous pedestal.

It is no coincidence that A. Sobchak was forced to acknowledge when he encountered difficulties in the work of the Leningrad City Soviet that some leaders of election campaigns have been found wanting today when there is work to be done. Their only strength lies in making destructive speeches. Hence they need to "make waves" at rallies, processions, and protests to keep afloat. The pastoral role continues to outfox many people. But what outfoxes those people at the bottom?

Unfortunately, irritation does not occur in a vacuum and you cannot sweep it aside like crumbs from a table. A life that is becoming worse in every respect—from the universal paralysis of power and interethnic skirmishes to the empty stores—is shaking people. The path taken so far has led to crisis and the blame for that is being placed on the "leading" force "for all times"—the CPSU. Many people refuse to see the obvious fact that the party—such is its tragic fate—consisted of various strata: handfuls of leaders who have deviated from the Leninist road, a small but powerful nomenklatura which ruled the country and its various parts in the same spirit, and the multimillion mass of Communists (including careerists) honestly and strenuously working for the good of the country. That distinction could be the basis for a rapid cleansing. But there are also quite a few party members clinging to the old ways who have not understood the essence of the necessary changes and this is complicating the party's position. Furthermore, the principle of unquestioning acceptance that used to be fashionable and the comfortable conditions of the one-party system deprived many Communists of the ability to struggle.

But the situation here is not simple. Can it really be that the majority on the lists of people's elected representatives are not Communists? But some are strenuously trying to present the party as a force rejected by the people.

Millions are involved in the democratic process, and that includes millions of Communists. Our path to democracy is indisputable and unstoppable.

But for the time being we must all see that there is democracy and "democracy." Against the complex background of the expression of the people's will, what I would call a parasitical pseudodemocracy has begun operating. Or to put it another way—a chameleon-like democracy. A political fish is more easily caught in troubled waters. Hence the powerful—organizational, ideological, and simply psychological—attack on the CPSU. On socialism. On Lenin. That is what stands in their way toward power.

Objectively this attack is aided by the "new" philosophical investigations in which Stalinism is not separated from socialism and in which "sensational" facts are taken out of historical context. It is also aided by the predilection of certain social figures for anything that "exposes" the commitment of some publicists, who pick up from one another the philistine methods of ridicule. For example, what was the point of the recent broadcast of "Around Midnight" in which the party, socialism, and Lenin were presented in ironic and primitive tones around a dozen times.

And thus it was all connected, interwoven, and began to yelp in the choir of many voices. Here are the compressed facts from just recently. One deputy accused the CPSU Central Committee Politburo of disposing of the country's gold reserves (quite without foundation). Another stated (without proof) that the CPSU is taking up the economic levers of power. Posters were pasted up on fences: Yet another deputy is demanding that criminal proceedings be instituted against Lenin as a German spy (Solzhenitsyn has already tried to prove that—and failed). Then books and collections of articles go on sale which—unconvincingly but scathingly—pass a "death sentence" on the socialist choice. OGONEK publishes a concocted photograph—a pile of cut-price covers for party cards (I do not know about now, but at one time they were Communists and extremely loyal ones, too). From broadcast to broadcast, "Vzglyad" continues fondly showing [Democratic Union's] Novodvorskaya gleefully ripping into tiny pieces a picture of the founder of our party (but this is a political advertisement—presumably someone is getting good money for it. Or is it being shown from a profound—albeit different—party solidarity?) N. Ryzhkov appeared in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in the role of a grasping, dacha-owning swindler (once again an insult to the truth). Leningrad television reporter A. Nevzorov rightly exposed the "free meals" and organizational impotence of the new city authorities, at the same time peevishly pinning the label "bolsheviks" and "bolshevism" where appropriate and not so appropriate (as in many other cases). The same program recently gave air time to someone who called for Marxism-Leninism to be put on international trial like that of Nuremberg. And how persistently the exalted orators and publicists call for the bandit-like division of the party's property! And how impudently some publications have been defaming the party newspaper PRAVDA during the subscription advertising campaign!...

And thus it is day in, day out. A kind of fiendish excess. A kind of undisguised frenzy. Indulgence of the senses. An orgy of provocation. Recently at demonstrations in Kiev organized by Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] Communists were again aggressively insulted. And already in the Western Ukraine cries of "string them up" are being made by former "Banderists" [followers of Stepan Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist and wartime collaborator with Germans], who "have not yet settled scores with them." Where are monuments not being destroyed? There is a mad race on to rename things. Miners demand... the depoliticization of the Army. Why does that affect them so much, all of a sudden? It seems that roving politicians from other regions have done a good job in the miners' area....

The press has started talking about a document urging a counterrevolutionary coup (the Russian Democratic Forum's "Action Program-90")—and again it is driving certain "democrats" in the same direction: These are allegedly the intrigues of either the government or the CPSU Central Committee.

I will not say in so many words that all this is redolent of preparation for such a coup. But it is redolent of a hunt. The hunting horns are sounding. Drums are beating. Borzois are yelping. Pointers are sniffing around. Horses are snorting. There are shouts and shots. Everything is carried away in the animal excitement of the chase.

People, where are you rushing to? Stop, look around, and consider, who is directing you and in what direction?

After all, it is possible with time to discuss calmly the problem of the "portraits" and "busts" inherited from the time of the cult of the personality. But is this the most urgent concern today? Will vandalism feed us or fill the stores? And what about the people's dignity—we are, after all, becoming a laughing-stock in the world. A world that has acknowledged that Lenin is a great man and will occupy a permanent and worthy place in history.

Why do some people follow the overthrowers of socialism so unthinkingly? They tenaciously seek to impose the idea of socialism as Stalinism. But what is there in common? They deny the fact that since time immemorial all peoples have cherished the desire for a society where the individual is free, where there is social equality and social protection, and where others do not live parasitically off your labor. Social battles have flared up around this. How can this be denied? Despite naive ideas, sometimes distorted forms (one can only regret this), and fragmentation and internal strife, this movement represents an aspiration which is thousands of years old. I consider it older than all the world religions—Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism (which have also embodied in their own way the impulse of the human spirit). And it has a longer future than them.

The attraction toward socialism is ineradicable, whether we like it or not. Yes, some people do very much want to erase its name. But it would arise all the same under another name.

Here the experience of "prosperous" countries today can be cited. They do not deny, but confirm it. We can now see how in a number of respects that world has been socialized: We, obscured by the iron curtain, had failed to note the changes which occurred there in many respects under the influence of our October revolution.

So the best thing for all of us is to be aware of the new path and rally to the cause. Which is what the CPSU is urging.

But, in Leninist parlance, before you can unite and in order to unite you must establish firm and clear boundaries. No matter how you want consolidation, what kind of consolidation can there be with zealotry? The clamor of the street—particularly hysterical clamor—is not the same as the opinion of the people. In public opinion democracy should be separate from the uproar of the hunt. And is not true democracy itself interested in this? The time to put a price on everything is coming.

Democracy deepens perestroyka, pseudodemocracy destroys it.

Democracy leads to a rule-of-law state, bogus democracy leads to chaos. Democracy uses the methods of civilized society, pseudodemocracy uses the methods of moral pressure, blackmail, and force. Is this not the same as "common or garden fascism"?

Democracy does not stoop to lies, chameleon democracy cannot do without inciting provocation, planting "juicy" stories, and juggling with the facts. The image of a military coup is being created solely to obscure the image of a counterrevolutionary coup.

Democracy, including the renewed CPSU, is directing all its energy toward consolidating society while counterfeit democracy is directing its energy toward creating discord, dissension, and disruption.

Therefore the appeal now is for all healthy forces in society to unite, the country's existence being at stake.

And as far as the other appeals are concerned, it is so very important to stop, look around, and consider: Where we are rushing to, who is directing us, and to where?

Urals Leader Urges 'Coordinated' CPSU Plans

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["Text" of speech delivered at 8 October session of CPSU Central Committee Plenum by V.D. Kadochnikov, first secretary of Sverdlovsk CPSU oblast party committee]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! We are in the throes of a truly dramatic situation: Having initiated perestroyka, the party has arrived at the crucial turning point in a state of confusion and intellectual unpreparedness.

If we do not grasp the reasons why this has occurred, if we do not discard the things that are preventing the party from finding its fighting spirit, if we do not determine the concrete tasks whose resolution can unite Communists, we will lose the party's prestige once and for all.

We, the party, the Communists have, I must admit, been rightly criticized on several occasions for the fact that the CPSU has recently lagged behind the changes in life and is tailing along behind highly important events. I must once again admit, with pain, that the party lost the political initiative during the preparatory period for the transition to a market economy and has allowed itself to become involved in intraparty disputes and debates and evaded concrete action. Even after being subjected to harsh but just criticism at the 28th Congress, we—I am referring to you Central Committee members, the new Politburo—have as yet made no concrete proposals.

I share the position held by Comrade Kalinin and other comrades who have spoken here. For instance, how can we explain the fact that we met to discuss the program for the transition to the market when the Russian Supreme Soviet had already approved and adopted the "500 days" program, and while the Union Supreme Soviet is near to adopting an amended version of it. What kind of party involvement can there be in discussing decisions of vital importance for the country if even some Central Committee members, not to mention every Communist, are not practically acquainted with the various versions of the program? What, apart from the absence of a coordinated party policy, can explain the paradox whereby a government consisting mainly of Communists—to our knowledge—proposes one program, while the president, our general secretary, proposes another.

I would remind you that this summer, in August we said here at a meeting of the first secretaries of republic Communist Party central committees, obkoms, and kraykoms [kray party committees] that we are constantly late, and we were given assurances that we would work ahead of schedule. But, as you can see, the promises have not as yet been fulfilled.

A reasonable question does, indeed, arise: Why do we need today's belated conference at the Central Committee plenum? To ensure that the party takes responsibility again? I think that, as it is, responsibility for all the difficulties does rest with us Communists today.

The situation within the party is certainly complex. It is rife with contradiction. But when rank-and-file Communists see that we lack clear mutual understanding in the uppermost echelons of power, they have no confidence as a result. I envy my colleagues whom Communists just remind that Mikhail Sergeyevich should tackle the party more. People in our oblast are more categorical in what they say. On Saturday there was a discussion at the oblast conference just ended at which Communists openly said—and I must tell you this—that the general secretary has very few practical dealings with party affairs and that they are developing well-founded doubts as to whether either the president is acting deliberately to weaken the party, or the 28th Congress delegates made a mistake in agreeing to combine incompatible posts—that of general secretary and president of a multiparty state.

In our oblast roughly 40 percent of all the people who quit the party did so because they were dissatisfied with the activity of the party and government leadership and with the fact that the party is being transformed into an organization that catches up with government decisions. This is being discussed impartially at report meetings and conferences where the idea of the inadvisability of maintaining the party "nerve center" is being openly voiced. Party organizations are withholding transfer of membership dues, unequivocally indicating that they have no intention of continuing to invest money in a cause that has failed to produce the appropriate return.

Tension in society is not merely growing. It has reached critical level—a little further and there may be an explosion. We have serious misgivings that the Urals region, full of heavy industry and defense complex enterprises, may find itself in most complex conditions during the transition to the market. Realizing this and aware of government organs' inability to resolve these complex problems from the center, we are forced to adopt ineffectual decisions and set up the regional "governments" that have already been mentioned here today. Without doubt, individual problems can and must be solved at regional level. We had a useful discussion about this in Sverdlovsk 2 October at a meeting of working people from autonomous republics and oblasts in the Urals and also at working meetings between the chairmen of our ispolkoms [executive committees] (Councils of Ministers), where various options for the development of intraregional ties and collective protection of the people of the Urals against market upheavals were discussed and worked out. Appealing to the country's leadership from this rostrum, I would like to say that the people of the Urals have boundless potential and endurance. They have done the country no harm, constantly providing it with a meticulous supply of metal, pipes, machine building output, oil, timber, and many, many other things without having a chance to independently provide themselves above all with meat and dairy products and consumer goods.

In terms of the level of social security the Urals region as a whole and our Sverdlovsk Oblast in particular are 20 percent or more behind republic and Union level. How can we live when in August and September the plans for meat deliveries to Sverdlovsk were fulfilled by 50 and 30 percent respectively? There is a catastrophic shortage of food products. There have been no textile goods in the stores for over a year. There is also a similar situation in other oblasts.

Having given up economic functions and economic management, the party has lost a real opportunity to radically influence the resolution of social problems, and soviet organs are still not up to resolving these issues. If people see that the resolution of the housing problem and the supply of foodstuffs and essentials is worsening, they will naturally hold the party and Communists responsible for this once again.

We obviously also have a considerable need to think about the responsibility borne by Communists within the incumbent cabinet of ministers headed by dear Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. We do not share the desire for indiscriminate resignations. But responsibility must be taken for the disorder within the country. Responsibility must also be taken for the unharvested crops, the economic disorganization, and the adoption of ill-conceived and—more accurately—mistaken decisions. Take just one of the latter—the decision to raise purchase prices for agricultural products. N.N. Stroganov, general director of an "Uralmash" plant, is taking part in our work (he is sitting in the same row as Nikolay Ivanovich). This is his specific position. In order to provide workers' canteens with meat products he has been forced to switch to bartering and exchanging his produce for meat and other products. The cost of a lunch is soaring by 2.50 rubles [R]. What kind of explosion does this threaten to cause in a workers' canteen? I think you can imagine. In order for lunch to cost just R1 "Uralmash" has to cover the difference at the enterprise's expense, with purchase prices for meat alone of R6-8 million. Who is to compensate for these losses? It is, after all, not only a question of "Uralmash" alone. What are small enterprises, student canteens, and public catering enterprises in school and preschool establishments to do? The local budget will undoubtedly not withstand this burden and even the machine building leader, not to mention all the others, does not have that kind of millions. Mistaken decisions of this kind could, indeed, have unforeseeable consequences.

Our region's enterprises are faced with the very real threat of production stoppages owing to failure to conclude agreements and general violation of contract commitments. As you are aware, this also means nonpayment of wages and dismissals, which could produce a mighty social explosion.

While the authors of both the presidential and the government program are vying with one another in promising to protect the population's living standards, prices are rising inexorably and the economic chaos is increasing. You get the impression that few people are concerned about the current state of affairs.

I would like to share some of my ideas as I contemplate the crisis both within the party and the country. We are following the debates within the supreme soviets with interest and sometimes with tremendous alarm. It has already been said here today, and Oleg Semenovich said so in his speech, that many people are beset by the question: Where is our band of people's deputies from the party, who have been given mandates from the CPSU? Where is their concrete work, initiative, and participation in resolving the problems under discussion? How do they uphold the party's honor and positions within the supreme legislative body? There are all manner of options, but we obviously have to think about how to step up their work and determine a common line to be pursued within the Supreme Soviet.

The people of the Urals are also concerned by the fact that parliamentary rivalry between the Union and republic supreme soviets is producing, on the one hand, a crisis of power and, on the other, disrespect for the law. They are appealing to both governments, asking and demanding that they devote all their efforts above all to securing accord in the interests of the people, who are weary of futile discussion. We also urge both soviets' deputies to refrain from firing passions and to be guided not by personal ambition and sympathies but by supreme responsibility to the people for past mistakes and today's decisions.

Delegates at our oblast conference share the opinion that there is no alternative to the market. But we do not think that this is the end in itself but one of the means of attaining the socialist goal.

I think that in this connection this plenum's most important task should be as follows. First, we must soberly predict all the social, economic, and political consequences of our adopted decisions. No program provides a sociopolitical analysis of the consequences of the transition to the market.

Second, we do not simply need measures, or any old measures, to provide working people and production collectives with social protection. We need a well thought-out, coordinated political, economic, and social action program to preserve everything of positive value that we have already accumulated and that is being proposed.

Third, via the mass media and party committees we must ensure extensive, committed discussion of the proposed programs, clearly and truthfully explain to people the social consequences of the transition to the market, and enlist their support. Fourth and last, we must mobilize all the party's intellectual potential to trace out and amend the programs that are being implemented. Our discussion will reveal whether this is to be an interim committee or commission. One thing alone is clear: The party is not entitled to be a detached observer.

'Top Priority' Program Views Anti-Semitism

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["Top Priority" program, presented by Irina Tkachenko, with CBS correspondent Dr. Jonathan Sanders and Dr. Sergey Plekhanov, deputy director of the United States and Canada Institute]

[Excerpts] [Tkachenko] The topic for today—anti-semitism in times of perestroyka. And let's kick off with the trial that has perhaps cought public attention like nothing else in the last few months, the case of Konstantin Ostashvili who is charged with inciting mass hostility toward the Jews. [passage omitted] The court trial will perhaps go down in history as the first political trial under the Article 74, the article that provides for penalties for inciting hostility, national hostility on national grounds. Is it a sign of change? Do we enter a new era with this trial do you think? How would you assess it?

[Sanders] Well I think that he trial and the highlighting of this kind of growing anti-semitism probably is the start of a new era, certainly a turning point in Russian and Soviet history. [passage omitted] But the Jews themselves will tell you there is a significant change in attitude. Whereas they used to feel pressure from above, from the authorities, now they are feeling it from small groups of extreme monarchists and others who want to return to a utopian past of Russia, the anti-semitism from below. And this is an attempt, I think, on the authorities' part to control that impetus so it's a significant change.

[Tkachenko] Mr. Plekhanov, would you share the view that the Jews in this country are feeling the same amount of pressure only from a different direction now that perestroyka is on course?

[Plekhanov] Well it is hard to measure the pressure. [passage omitted] The anti-semitic sentiment is on the rise in some segments of society because at a time of crisis like the one that we're going through, especially in a society like ours it is just inevitable that ethnic animosities and hatred and conflict flare up. We've seen it across the country from east to west and of course anti-semitism is one of those diseases of the Russian mind, and not only the Russian. No, we've seen the same thing in the Baltics. We've seen the same thing in the Ukraine. And by the way in Eastern Europe we've seen the same in Germany and Poland. So that's a traditional scapegoat. I mean, we've seen it in Europe, we've seen it in other countries in the past. The Jews are to blame when things go wrong. [passage omitted]

[Plekhanov] And I think it's important to try and sum up what the right-wing anti-semitic political groups have been able to do in the past three years. They appeared on the scene around 1987, started agitating, started publishing their stuff, organizing demonstrations, and so on. They have not been able to elect a single legislator even though they did go in to political campaigns. They have been split in many ways. They have been discredited in the eyes of public opinion. All public opinion polls show that their suport is absolutely marginal. They're (?allowed), just like the Ku Klux Klan, I mean it's always there and it looks terrible on television. It's always a show but I mean the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States are just in a number of hundreds, maybe a few thousand across the country. And now, a very important watershed that the state is moving against groups which knowingly, consciously foment ethnic hatred for political purposes. [passage omitted]

[Tkachenko] [passage omitted] Now that people are leaving and the emigration is taking the form of exodus what do you think is driving people out of the country? Is it only the nationalism? Is it only the anti-semitic sentiment that has taken root and that has come to the fore in the last two years? Or perhaps would you agree that a large measure of this motivation is in fact material needs and material incentives? People are looking for a better place to live. In fact many of the people in the Jewish community here in the Soviet Union are much better off than many other nationalities and they have a high standard of education, they are better skilled and there are more professionals.

[Sanders] Well I think there's push and there's pull. Certainly, people feel after years of hearing about the chance to get out that there is now a window of opportunity and they want to take it. That is, they are not sure how much longer there will be a chance to emigrate and so they want to get out while they can. There is also an apocalyptic mood across the Soviet Union, not just about Jews but that the Soviet star is falling, that the economy is falling apart. [passage omitted] There is also a sense that they're being pulled out of the country pulled by opportunity, opportunity to get rich, opportunity to make a great deal of money. [passage omitted] And I think it's also uncertainty, and uncertainty I think is the largest factor in the psychological make up of the minds of many middle class an upper middle class people. [passage omited]

[Plekhanov] Yeah, I think it's a fairly accurate picture. There is a push and there is a pull. There is also the sentiment with a lot of people—for the first time this country is becoming free and there is a chance to change it for the better. Now a lot of people are taking part in the new things which are happening in this country, building a new economy and building democratic institutions. I think it's important not to have bad feelings toward those people who go. In fact, if you let them go freely many of them will return, and many of them will return with, perhaps, better skills, with new ideas and they will bring back, you know, initiative. Among other things, they could bring back money and invest here. [passage omitted] I think that people will go back and forward. It's very important that we're opening up to the world and are turning from this isolated island into a full-fledged member of the world community. [passage omitted]

[Tkachenko] Now that the hotbeds of national tension have already emerged in many republics all across the country, how grounded do you think are the fears of the Jewish people here? Mr. Plekhanov, you noticed that the fears of pogroms last May never were realized and the same happened a year before, in the summer of 1989, right up to the first Congress of People's Deputies when the fears of upcoming Jewish pogroms turned out to be a rumor. Now don't the Armenians, for example, have more reason for leaving this country than the Jews now that Armenians are openly engaged in clashes with the Azerbaijanis down in the south? And, after all, what do you say to the pronouncements of some of the leaders of Pamyat who have mostly dissociated themselves from Mr. Ostashvili, who is now undergoing trial, saying that he is a scapegoat? He is a scapegoat who is used by people who want to discredit the lofty cause of....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Some of them have gone further. Some of them accuse Mr. Ostashvili of himself being Jewish, that this was all a plot to discredit the true Russian nationals. But there are crooks all over the place (?and they) can say anything. [passage omitted]

[Tkachenko] Gentlemen, we have deviated somewhat from this question of, the Jewish question. How grounded are their fears and would you tell a Jew to leave or stay now?

[Sanders] Well, it depends on the particular person, what they believe, how they are oriented. [passage omitted] It depends on the person, how Russian they are. A lot of Jews here are more Russian than they are Jewish and it's for material reasons. If the material situation here changed maybe it's, well, wise to stay. [passage omitted]

[Tkachenko] Sergey.

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that the choice that people face when they're running over this question right now is not as [word indistinct] as it used to be. You don't have to leave for good because with the new emigration law people will be able to go abroad, live there and come back. [passage omitted]

[Tkachenko] The trial of Konstantin Ostashvili has got so much publicity that the man himself has said that the daily press has blown the case out of all proportion. Do you think that the media should be paying this much attention, should be drawing public attention so often to this case? Perhaps the man after all is just a petty hooligan.

[(Sanders)] [passage omitted] I don't think he can criticize the yellow press and I think the trial deserves all the attention it's getting.

[Tkachenko] It deserves all the attention it's getting because....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] Because this is a disease which if allowed to develop further could have very serious, almost fatal consequences for this society. We should not play with the fire of ethnic hatred. [passage omitted]

Economic

Gorbachev Plan for Economic Reform Published

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[Unattributed report: "Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy"; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The country's president has sent USSR Supreme Soviet deputies a document entitled "Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy" based on the well-known programs elaborated by M.S. Gorbachev's and B.N. Yeltsin's working group.

The document's title speaks for itself.

It only represents BASIC GUIDELINES for economic reform. They have been prepared with consideration for the wishes of the union republics and their interests, and each republic, on the basis of its own conditions, will elaborate and implement its own reform PROGRAMS.

There is no alternative to switching to a market. All world experience has shown the viability and effectiveness of the market economy. The switch to such an economy in our society is dictated solely by people's interests and aims to create a socially oriented economy, gear all production to consumer needs, overcome the shortages and the disgraceful waiting lines, ensure citizens' economic freedom de facto, and establish conditions for encouraging hard work, initiative, and high productivity.

These basic guidelines are designed to be the basis for coordinated actions on the part of all republics and Union organs to stabilize the national economy and transfer to a market economy. Every sovereign republic has the opportunity to elaborate and implement a series of concrete measures to achieve the market switch with consideration for the specific features of their socioeconomic situation and national and historical features.

This difficult path has to be covered in the shortest possible time. The experience of applying stabilization programs in other countries and the calculations and forecasts that have been made with reference to our conditions show that this period may last roughly 18 months to two years. It is for this period that the additional powers granted to the country's president are intended.

The tasks of stabilizing the economy and transferring to the market are to be resolved in four stages.

Stage I—Program of Extraordinary Measures

At the very outset the introduction of legislative acts enshrining the basic principles and directions of economic reform is to be announced and—this is the main thing—a system of measures to stabilize the national economy is to be implemented ensuring:

the improvement of finances and the money supply by reducing the state budget deficit, suppressing the issuance of money, restructuring the banking system, and regulating enterprises' finances;

protection for the population's money savings by raising interest rates at savings banks, balancing of the population's income and expenditure, backing for consumer goods production, and, on this basis, the restoration and normalization of the consumer market;

the stabilization of reciprocal deliveries and the prevention, where possible, of a decline in production;

the denationalization [razgosudarstvleniye] and privatization of property, and the implementation of land reform;

the stabilization of foreign economic relations.

The most complex task at this stage is to curb the incipient rise in prices: to restrict the increase in wholesale and purchase prices, effect a phased increase in state prices for fuel, raw materials, and construction materials, and monitor the level of state retail prices for goods in mass demand. All this has to be done in such a way as to cover the growing—owing to purchase and wholesale price hikes—budget deficit on the one hand and prevent uncontrollable inflation on the other, and also to improve the commodity-money balance conditions for the subsequent accelerated transition to the market.

Stage II—Tough Financial Restrictions and a Flexible System of Price Formation

The most important thing in this stage is the consistent and gradual transition to market prices for a broad range of production and technical output and consumer goods. The steps taken during the previous stage should avert excessive price hikes. In the future inflationary processes are to be restrained by a tough financial and credit policy.

Fixed state prices for at least one-third of all goods—fuel, raw materials, and semimanufactures—are to be retained at this stage, which is important in order to regulate the overall level of prices and state retail prices for essential consumer goods which determine the population's subsistence wage.

At the same time the scope of denationalization is to broaden, small enterprises are to be privatized, and a market infrastructure is to be developed.

Special steps are being taken to redistribute capital investments and other resources to sectors working for the population, and incentives are to be increased for their development and expansion.

The first result of the extraordinary measures and price liberalization will reveal itself in a marked improvement in the situation on the consumer market, particularly for goods sold at prices governed by supply and demand. The tougher and more consistent the steps taken are in the sphere of financial and credit policy—and to eliminate artificially hyped demand—the smaller the price rises will be. Goods will appear on free sale. That is the first positive result that may be achieved—and must be achieved without fail—from the reform.

During the transitional period, special mechanisms are to be introduced to provide social protection for the population's income, including indexation with consideration of retail price movements. At the same time, measures to support socially vulnerable strata of the population are beginning to be implemented.

Union republics and local organs of power can employ various measures to regulate prices, including interim price freezes for goods in mass demand in the event of excessive price hikes. They can introduce rationed distribution of a number of goods compensating producers and trading outlets from their budgets for losses incurred, and they can provide social protection for the population's income.

With a view to maintaining production and economic ties, a state contract system has been set up that will undertake to place state orders on a contract basis and distribute and regulate the prices for the output supplied under these contracts.

Stage III—Formation of the Market

The main task during this stage is to achieve the stabilization of the market as a whole for both consumer goods and means of production, broadening the sphere of market relations and establishing a new system of economic relations.

Contradictory processes will occur in the economy at this time. On the one hand, we can expect increasing saturation of the market with goods. The market infrastructure will develop at an accelerated pace and the influence of enterprise on economic activity will increase. The use of material resources must be more economical and production stocks will be reduced. The resources released will swell the market in means of production and help to stabilize it.

During this stage the stress will be placed on the formation of a housing market, the reform of labor remuneration, and the restructuring of mutual relations between enterprises and local soviets in the social sphere, along with further price liberalization.

The creation of a housing market is a necessary element in the transition to a market economy. It will make it possible to put one of the most important commodities into circulation—a commodity that is capable of swallowing up a considerable amount of the population's effective demand, promoting equilibrium in the consumer market and an increase in incentives to hard work.

It will also be necessary to restructure the labor remuneration system. The purpose of this is to abolish regulations and establish a state minimum wage for enterprises, with all forms of ownership based on a calculation of the minimum consumer budget in the light of the new level of expenditure on housing and on an extended range of goods and services as a whole, bought at market prices using personal income. A realistic minimum wage will be an important means of social protection for working people. Restrictions on the opportunity to earn money will be lifted at the same time.

In connection with these measures republics and local organs are working to remove enterprises' excessive and unequal burden in maintaining social facilities, thus facilitating enterprises' entry into market relations and boosting their competitiveness.

The conditions that take shape following the development of housing reform will promote the formation of the labor market. Trade unions will be strengthened as defenders of working people's interests, and unions of entrepreneurs and managers will be formed. On the basis of agreements between them, and with the state in a regulating role, it will be possible to organize a labor market and public supervision of the movements of incomes and prices.

Financial and credit restrictions will be withdrawn as competition, enterprise, and price stabilization develop. There will be changes in taxes and interest for credit in order to help revive business activity and increase investment.

Stage IV—End of the Stabilization Period

The main tasks in this period are to consolidate economic and financial stabilization, improve the consumer market, and, particularly, to ensure the accelerated formation of the competitive market environment needed for the fully fledged functioning of the market's characteristic self-regulatory mechanisms.

During this period there should be considerable progress in the demonopolization of the economy, denationalization, and privatization.

Preconditions should take shape for the intensification of economic activity, above all in the light and food industry sectors, the agrarian sector, and sectors in the service sphere.

The predominance of prices governed by supply and demand in conjunction with a balanced budget will create the preconditions for resolving the key problem in the transition to a market economy—the problem of the internal convertibility of the ruble. The crux of the problem is to give all Soviet enterprises and foreign companies operating on USSR territory the opportunity to buy and sell freely at market rates the foreign currency needed to perform ordinary economic operations.

Internal ruble convertibility will open up extensive possibilities for an influx of the foreign investment that the country so needs for restructuring and retooling, and also to develop competition on the domestic market and overcome monopolies. It can be asserted that under the conditions in our country, this is an important precondition for ensuring that the market mechanism runs on full power.

The Consumer Market

The normalization of the consumer market is a socially very important part of the stabilization program. To achieve this it is essential, on the one hand, to find an effective use for the vast surplus money that the population has accumulated and, on the other, to increase the delivery of goods and services to the consumer market.

In order to resolve the first task, the intention is to expand the sphere of paid goods and services. Sale of housing, summerhouses, construction materials, and various types of state property is to be increased, and charges will be made for long-term leasing of out-of-town plots of land. By redistributing construction organization capacities and providing them with additional incentives, by the end of 1991 we must construct additional numbers of dwelling [zhilyye komnaty] and garages and prepare several million country plots for sale to the population.

It is also planned to introduce interest-free loans to enable the population to acquire material goods in short supply in the near future—automobiles, personal computers, furniture, telephone installation, additional housing, summer houses, garages, country plots of land, and so on. The state is to provide guarantees and prices are to be fixed.

It is extremely important in this connection also to ensure the safety of the population's savings, reinforce their trust in the state, and divert money away from the consumer market. With this in view, interest rates are to be raised, primarily for fixed-term savings bank deposits.

Along with this all forms of expenditure by the population on production investment—on acquisition of means of production, shares and bonds, and on buying out enterprises—are to be mobilized.

On the other hand, steps are to be taken to expand consumer goods production and the sphere of paid services. Additional incentives are to be introduced for consumer goods production, including tax concessions and assistance for enterprises in stepping up production of these goods.

It is planned to start the switch to market prices—prices governed by supply and demand—with essentials; however, it is planned to set fixed prices for certain groups of these goods in the interim. The proportion of consumer goods and raw materials for their production in the import structure is to increase, notably through procurements by means of special-purpose loans on preferential terms. Normative commodity stocks in the trade sector are to be increased in order to check price rises and stop artificially hyped demand when prices are liberalized.

There is to be demonopolization and privatization in retail and wholesale trade, public catering, consumer services, and also in a considerable proportion of the enterprises supplying them with goods. Incentives are to be provided for the activity of consumer cooperatives, trade and purchase cooperatives, and other trading enterprises, particularly those importing and selling goods in regions where there are problems in supplying the population. Measures to combat the shadow economy and attempts by its representatives to impede the development of competition in the consumer market are to be stepped up.

Ownership

In the near future it is intended to proclaim freedom of economic activity and the development of enterprise in the country, making provision for freedom to pursue economic activity for a variety of organizations and citizens, the creation of enterprises using a procedure whereby they apply for registration, and barriers to interference by state administration organs in the work of enterprises regardless of the forms of ownership and economic management.

At the same time lists of types of activity that are banned, governed by a state monopoly, or permitted only under state license will be approved at union level and in the republics.

The formation of free commodity producers as a highly important element in the market economy necessitates the speediest removal of a large proportion of enterprises from state patronage and privatization. Privatization is not necessarily seen as a switch to private ownership alone, but as a more general process of changing ownership via the transfer or sale of state property on various conditions to collectives, cooperatives, shareholders, foreign firms, and private individuals. These subjects of economic activity most fully accord with the demands of a market economy. Not only are they autonomous in their activity, but they are also economically responsible for the results of this activity—in terms of both current income and their own property. This ensures rational use of resources and hampers their unwarranted redistribution for consumption detrimental to the improvement of production potential.

Denationalization with the transformation of ownership can be effected by various methods. The specific avenues of denationalization will be determined depending on the particular features of the republics and regions, the specific features of the sector or production unit, the size of the enterprise, the level of stocks, and other factors.

Denationalization programs are to be mounted with the adoption of appropriate decisions at union and republic levels in the form of decrees by the USSR president and by the supreme organs of power in the union republics. These documents will indicate the aims, principles, and main avenues of denationalization. The equality of all forms of ownership envisaged by the USSR Law "On Ownership in the USSR" is stressed. The right to private ownership is recognized. Guarantees of the right of ownership of corporate entities and citizens, including foreigners, are indicated.

The USSR State Property Foundation is in charge of all the concrete work of denationalization at Union level. Similar bodies will be set up in the republics.

Immediate measures of denationalization and privatization are to be carried out first in those spheres where nonstate structures are most advisable. They include trade, public catering, consumer services, repair and construction organizations, and also small enterprises in other sectors. At the same time the transformation of large and medium enterprises from various sectors of industry and other spheres into joint-stock companies and societies is to begin this year.

With a view to preventing abuses, including the laundering of illegally obtained funds, it is intended, when implementing denationalization, to ensure strict control by state organs and the public. It is envisaged that priority in buying property and shares will be accorded to labor collectives and their members and use made of various forms of aid, above all using the enterprise's funds, sales with installment payments, discounts, the granting of credit, and so on.

Land Reform

The key avenues in the establishment of a market economy in the agrarian sector are:

the implementation of land reform and the creation of conditions for the effective functioning of various forms of ownership and economic activity, the elimination of the monopoly on land ownership, and the formation of a mixed economy in the agrarian sector;

the elimination of administrative structures of state management of agricultural production, and abandonment of the administrative establishment of mandatory orders for agricultural produce;

to boost the prestige and increase the motivation of peasant labor and provide maximum incentives for enterprise and healthy competition among producers;

the elaboration and implementation of targeted programs for the development of the production and social infrastructure in the countryside with state financial backing;

the provision of a social policy that accords with the needs and requirements of rural inhabitants, and the creation of socioeconomic guarantees of the peasantry's position in society. Union and autonomous republics are to adopt land codes and other direct-action legislative acts regulating land relations with reference to the specific features of individual regions of the country and conditions for granting land to everyone who wants it and who is capable of making effective use of it for agricultural production. Republic organs of power are to resolve the question of a worker's right to freely leave a state, cooperative, or other enterprise (association) with a plot of land and a share of the accumulated property, provided that he organizes autonomous agricultural production.

The republics' supreme organs of state power are to create committees on land reform tasked with conducting an inventory and assessing land, revealing where land is used inefficiently, and exercising land organization, consultative, and supervisory functions.

Work is to be carried out to transform inefficient kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] by giving all or part of their land to cooperatives, leaseholders, peasant farms, and industrial and other enterprises to organize commercial agricultural production and also for personal subsidiary farming, collective horticulture, and truck gardening.

Prices

Free market prices are an inalienable element in a market economy. In order to ensure that the transition to such prices is less painful, it is intended to free prices—above all prices for consumer goods and services—from administrative control in stages. During the first stage, price control is to be waived for a group of nonessential goods.

However, in order to give the population social protection it is envisaged that state prices will be maintained for goods and services that form the basis of families' minimum wage (a range of foodstuffs and industrial commodities will be stipulated for these purposes). Local price hikes for individual commodities are also permitted by decision of the republics in the light of local conditions. Republic and local organs are to establish allowances to protect the population's income, in accordance with their capabilities, place orders for additional production, and where necessary introduce rationed distribution of these commodities.

In the future, retail price control is to be eliminated successively for groups of commodities in light of the specific position and situation in the market. In 1992, the intention is for prices to be controlled for only a narrow range of consumer essentials (certain types of bread and bread products, meat and dairy products, vegetable oil, sugar, basic medicines, school primers, individual children's goods, some transport tariffs, and tariffs for some public amenities).

The end of price control should, without fail, go hand in hand with a tough financial and credit policy and accelerated rates of denationalization, economic demonopolization, development of competition and enterprise, and a market infrastructure.

In the event of excessive price hikes—where prices were freed earlier—republic and local organs are allowed to decide to set a maximum level for these prices.

During the transitional period the state cannot immediately abandon the policy of maintaining low retail prices for various goods and, consequently, price subsidies. However, a fundamental change is needed in the procedure for payment of price subsidies to ensure that goods are profitable to produce and sell and that, consequently, cheap goods do not become scarce right away.

Social Policy

A socially oriented market economy is an economic system where every group and social section of the population receives extensive opportunities to realize its life capabilities and requirements on the basis of free labor and increased personal income.

The new economic system reveals an opportunity, given the inclination, for people to start up a business—organize a cooperative, own a store, a restaurant, a private taxi, or set up a small enterprise or other economic entity.

The freedom to choose the way in which to apply their labor will also be an important factor in the improvement of peasants' living conditions. They will be able to choose between a large farm—a kolkhoz or sovkhoz—a small lease collective, or a private individual farm. There are prospects for a rapid increase in peasants' personal income, interest in which will be bolstered by an increasingly full counterflow of output from the city.

The market economy will provide extensive opportunities for the intelligentsia to exercise their accomplishments and abilities. Enshrining the right to intellectual ownership will create conditions and incentives for everything that is truly talented and original to flourish. There will be increased freedom to choose the forms of organizing the labor that society needs and to set up all manner of unions and associations.

The policy of increasing personal labor income, enhancing its role in meeting the population's sociocultural and consumer needs, and thus wiping out freeloading will be an important element in the new social policy. A guaranteed level of social benefits, which should be regarded as a minimum level, will be provided via public consumption funds for all strata of the population.

In the conditions of the transition to market relations some population groups should be the object of special social programs. This applies primarily to the elderly and disabled living alone or independently, and also to orphans and large families.

Wages will increasingly fully reflect real expenditure on the reproduction of the skilled work force, which renders investment in the education, training, and cultural and social development of the individual most effective. In the course of the pay reform, state wage rates are viewed as the minimum guaranteed remuneration for workers with the relevant skills. From this standpoint, they are binding throughout the country's territory and for all enterprises, irrespective of their form of ownership. And republics and enterprises can, at their own discretion, establish pay scales based on the funds at their disposal, but these may not be less than state tariffs.

In this sense, the state tariff system will be a factor in the social protection of working people and a powerful incentive for boosting production efficiency.

The new tariff system should simultaneously cover production and nonproduction sectors of the national economy so as to ensure that culture, health, and education workers have the same pay guarantees and do not lag behind workers in the production sphere.

At the same time a new system will be introduced for the hiring of enterprise leaders under contract, whereby the state tariff will also set the minimum level of pay.

All other pay issues—forms and systems of payment, bonuses, awards, supplements, and so forth—will be determined independently by enterprises without any interference from state organs. And there will be no restrictions on individual pay, which will be regulated solely by income tax.

Dividends from shares in enterprises and other income from property become new sources of income. When working people acquire shares they become the owners of their own plants, factories, sovkhozes, and other enterprises—which provides an added incentive to highly productive work.

Pensions, Benefits, and Grants

The Law on Pension Provision for Citizens has now been adopted and will come into force in the 1990-1993 period.

An important feature of the new pensions system is its linkage to the minimum consumer budget and the changing conditions of the market economy. The measures to alter the pensions system will make it possible to increase average pensions by approximately 50 percent.

As the economy becomes more efficient, centralized increases will continue in the future in various benefits associated with having and raising children as well as benefits for invalids. Student grants will be substantially increased out of state funds.

Republics can view the centrally set levels of pensions, benefits, and grants as representing the minimum guarantee of material provision for the corresponding categories of citizens. They are entitled to increase payment levels if they can find the necessary funds.

Moreover, the system of pensions, benefits, and grants may be reinforced by payments voluntarily undertaken by enterprises to their veterans, women, or young people going to study.

The switch to a market economy in our country is taking place in the context of a general shortage of consumer goods, particularly in the state trading system at state prices. It will take between six months and a year to normalize the consumer market and saturate it with goods. During this period, certain republics, regions, and cities will have to introduce distribution based on norms set by organs of Soviet power so as to ensure guaranteed access to primary necessities. And during this period the state will maintain relatively low fixed prices for primary necessities in the public interest. At the same time, in order to ensure that price rises do not exacerbate the people's position, we will need a system to protect their incomes against inflation. It is proposed to do this by means of various types of compensation, primarily by indexing incomes—that is, increasing them in line with the rise in the index of retail prices for a "basket" of consumer goods. This will be done publicly [glasno].

It is planned to index pensions, grants, and benefits 100 percent, while workers with fixed [tverdyy] pay scales and rates (servicemen, teachers, doctors, scientific workers, employees, and others) will receive up to 70 percent indexation, depending on the level of their pay. Wage funds at economically accountable enterprises will be indexed.

The indexation procedure will be regulated by USSR and republic legislation.

Employment Policy

The boosting of production efficiency, the elimination of unpromising or unprofitable enterprises, and the creation of new production facilities and sectors will lead to a redistribution of manpower—primarily in the services sphere, where new jobs will be created, as well as in cooperatives and the private sector. And some workers will temporarily find themselves excluded from social production. The task will be to minimize the period people spend without work.

A special state employment service will be set up at local soviets. It will not only provide a job search service, but also promote the organization of new jobs, reeducation, and retraining, supply career guidance, and provide material benefits for the temporarily unemployed. Local soviets will organize paid social work for the temporarily unemployed. It is fundamentally important that the employment service provided for people be free.

Special employment programs for the population will be implemented at the all-Union and republic level, above all in areas with surplus manpower. An employment aid fund will be set up.

In addition to the current system of material benefits for the unemployed, it is planned to introduce direct unemployment benefits when a worker is unable for certain reasons to find a new job or embark on retraining quickly.

The measures to improve the economy and switch to the market and the stages in their implementation are directly tied to political stability in society and the normal functioning of the organs of power and administration. The actual state of affairs requires the immediate introduction of amendments to the mechanism by which decisions are reached and implemented, as well as to the working forms and methods of all levels of legislative and executive power, and the enhancement of the personal responsibility borne by officials involved in implementing these program measures.

State Bank Clarifies Ruble Exchange Rate Policy

LD1710151590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] According to an announcement by the USSR State Bank, in connection with the press reports on the possible introduction of a commercial exchange rate for the ruble against foreign currencies, the following must be made clear: The introduction of a commercial exchange rate for the ruble will not lead to a devaluation of citizens' deposits in foreign currency and in freely convertible rubles in their accounts at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity [Vneshekenombank]. The balance of funds in accounts in freely convertible rubles will be augmented in proportion to the extent of the reduction in the ruble exchange rate; that is, by a factor of approximately three. Meanwhile, the equivalent of this sum in a foreign sum [as heard] will not change.

Draft Laws on Bank Reform Discussed

914A0024A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Zhagel: "A Gosbank Each?"]

[Text] **Following the approval in their first reading of bills on a reform of the country's banking system, a press conference was held on 9 October in the USSR Supreme Soviet at which questions from Soviet and foreign journalists were answered by V. Gerashchenko, chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank [Gosbank]; Yu. Moskovskiy, chairman of the board of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations; and also V. Gubarev and A. Orlov, deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union Planning and Budget-Finance Commission.**

Foreign journalists inquired about the actual process of the discussion in our parliament of the "USSR State Bank" and "Banks and Banking Activity" laws. They attempted to ascertain whether the practically complete lack of debate concerning prescriptive enactments fundamental to the market economy testified to the fact that the deputies have an inadequate grasp of this problem. And this could be reflected in the quality of the documents.

V. Gubarev rejected this way of putting it. He observed that it was the fifth (!) version of the laws to regulate the activity of the country's credit and finance system that had been submitted for the verdict of the people's deputies. These laws had undergone thorough approbation in committees and commissions and had repeatedly been sent back for additional work.

Nonetheless, there were complaints, albeit negligible, about the draft laws that had been submitted. They were in fact echoes of the "war of the banks" about which we have already told the reader. I would recall that at that time the Russian Parliament had adopted a decision in accordance with which all banks on its territory were converted into commercial banks, and the republic branch of the USSR Gosbank, into the Russian State Bank.

Generally, commercialization of the banking system was envisaged in the other drafts of the reforms also; the differences were merely in the details of implementation of this process. On the other hand, a sharp reaction was evoked in many people by the decision to create an independent republic state bank. Specialists predicted that this would destabilize the ruble even more, if not lead to the emergence of a particular monetary union, and that this would be followed by an acceleration in the economic exclusiveness of the regions.

The reality of such a danger and the seriousness of the situation in the economy forced representatives of Russia and the Union to meet one another half-way. For this reason, although the draft law on the USSR State Bank provides for the existence of republic central banks, it stipulates that they transfer their most important functions, emission included, to the central bank of the Union.

However, there could not fail to be ripples from the "stone" that was thrown. Proposals for renaming the structure of the country's central bank a federal reserve system—as in the United States—were expressed. But if this is not an attempt to once again extend the authority of the republic state banks, what is the point of this change of name?

Specialists' predictions that the creation of republic state banks could give rise to mutual suspicion came true also. It was not fortuitous that a proposal that the autonomous republics... also have their own state banks was expressed at a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Of course, this could be taken to the absurd. Even if it is assumed that these central banks would delegate all their rights to the USSR Gosbank and would exist merely to slake the self-esteem of the leaders of regions large and small, problems would arise, all the same. It is now envisaged, for example, that the board of the Union Gosbank will consist of the chairmen of the boards of the republic state banks. How many persons will it have and will this body be competent if the autonomous formations and, perhaps, krays and oblasts delegate their people to it?

Several complaints at the session were expressed in connection with the reorganization of the former specialized banks. All these proposals, V. Gerashchenko observed, should be studied as quickly as possible in order for the draft laws to be submitted at the end of October to the USSR Supreme Soviet for final approval.

There can be no postponement here since parliament will still at the start of November be examining the draft plan and budget for 1991. And for this we need to know precisely how the credit and finance system will work and what its possibilities are.

Answers to certain other questions not directly connected with reform of the banking system were given at the press conference. Here are some of them.

At the present time the outstanding contractual debt on the Soviet side, which just recently led to a suspension of commodity supplies from overseas, is on the order of R2 billion. But there is a quite steady trend toward a reduction in this debt. The current situation here will be examined on Thursday at special closed sessions of USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions.

It is contemplated to begin as soon as possible the publication of data on our gold and currency reserves. The corresponding proposals from the Gosbank to the government are already to hand.

And, finally, as you know, a special exchange rate of the ruble for noncommercial transactions has been in effect for almost a year now. According to V. Gerashchenko, a commercial exchange rate for the ruble for foreign economic transactions—on the order of R2 to the dollar—will be introduced shortly.

Minister Warns Against Stock Market 'Euphoria'

PM1610092590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by I. Zhagel: "USSR President's Meeting with American Financiers Who Are Ready To Help Us Form a Market Infrastructure"]

[Excerpts] New York Stock Exchange Chairman J. Phelan and leading U.S. finance company chiefs J. Chalsty, A. Peters, D. Shields, W. Schreyer, D. Bradford, and D. Feldman, who are in Moscow in connection with a Soviet-American seminar titled "Stock Exchanges and Their Role in the Functioning of Financial Markets," were received by President M. Gorbachev on 10 October. [passage omitted]

At a news conference in the afternoon, devoted to the results of the seminar, an agreement was signed between the New York Stock Exchange and the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR State Bank. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister V. Pavlov spoke at the news conference. Many people consider the proposed creation of a stock exchange in Moscow as something final, although it is merely an attempt to prepare a suitable foundation and get ready for the possible development of events. And we must avoid unnecessary euphoria.

Furthermore, some enterprises' shares may be released and attempts made to sell them through the stock exchange. But people must be found who will want to buy them. This is something that is not to be seen at the moment, since enterprises are still not free and people do not believe in the real possibility of running them and receiving profits.

All programs state that a producers' market is being created in our country, but no one is giving plants and factories real independence. Republics and union ministries are fighting furiously for the right to run them. Even though the enterprises should not be under anyone's jurisdiction at all.

If this obstacle is successfully overcome, it will be possible to advance very quickly. In V. Pavlov's opinion, there should be a leap forward in the process of selling shares in enterprises. This will happen approximately in the first half of next year.

At that time the Union Treaty should be more or less settled, particularly the economic part. New laws will also be prepared. All this will create a space for enterprises' activity, and this means for selling shares, and it will lay the foundations for the active formation of a financial market.

Official Views Deteriorating Consumer Situation

914D0005A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report on interview with G. Kiselev, chairman of the USSR Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal and Other Services, by S. Pastukhov in Moscow; date not given: "Are They Waiting for a 'Riot of the Naked'?"]

[Text] **This gloomy question (apparently analogous to the "tobacco riots") was asked recently by a participant in a joint meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal and Other Services and the country's People's Control Committee, which was considering the question "On the unsatisfactory supply of light industry goods for the population and immediate measures for providing for the operation of the branch under the conditions of the changeover to the market economy." One must say that there is every reason for the fears: The provision of light industry goods for the population is indeed getting worse every day, right before our eyes. I will give the facts and figures that came up at the joint meeting.**

The unsatisfied demand for consumer goods now amounts to a total of more than 100 billion rubles [R], including light industry—R30 billion. In the stores—both in the capital and in the outlying districts—there are never any suits, jackets, raincoats, women's coats, men's shirts, sets of baby clothes, tights, stockings, underwear, footwear, or head gear. The situation with respect to goods being sold at socially low prices is especially bad. For each of the 86 million children in the country each year we manufacture only one shirt, and we manufacture only one suit for every three boys. The production of clothing for the 50 million pensioners is organized in such a way that each year there is only one shirt for every five, one overcoat for every 20, and one suit for every 30 people.

The shelves in food stores are completely empty, as are the racks for industrial goods. Millions of people stand in waiting lines for hours to obtain food and clothing.

"To them one can add hundreds of thousands of unemployed," the chairman of the aforementioned commission, G. Kiselev, told me. "Apparently 40 light industry enterprises will have to close down in October, and in November their number could exceed 100. There are 600,000 workers of the branch who are out on the street. If the situation does not change, another 900,000 will be added to them next year. As you heard at our meeting, this will actually lead to the collapse of the branch..."

[Pastukhov] Yes, I heard that, and I can see what there is when I go into stores...

[Kiselev] During the past months of the year we have exhausted the resources of goods which are necessary for uniform supply of trade. In the first half of the year we still had fairly large volumes of imported products and could take domestic products from the normative reserves. Today imports have decreased sharply and the normative reserves have already been "eaten up" to a sum of more than R5 billion. To reduce them further would really mean to lay the groundwork for a "riot of the naked."

[Pastukhov] Why not add to the reserve of goods with purchases from abroad?

[Kiselev] Because the state has practically no free currency. In a difficult situation we must be oriented not toward imports but toward domestic light industry. But it is withering on the vine because of the shortage, above all, of raw material—cotton, flax, wool, leather, fur, chemical fibers and threads, and so forth. We have neither enough capacities nor enough working hands. Good workers, masters of their trade, are leaving the branch for cooperatives. It is much easier and simpler to work there, and the pay is three or four times higher.

[Pastukhov] In other words, each cause has its own underlying causes. Let us discuss the raw material problem in greater detail, please...

[Kiselev] There is no longer enough raw material primarily because ties are being broken everywhere—interrepublic, interregional, interbranch, and even within the branch when, for example, spinning factories will not deliver yarn to the textile workers in the same republic. At the level of the enterprises there are more and more people who want to sell raw material abroad in order to get hard currency, but not so that they can further develop their own production, the production of goods that are in mass demand, but in order—let us not beat around the bush—to get rich at the expense of those who have nothing to sell abroad, who can only buy things with their own rubles, but there is nothing for them to buy.

[Pastukhov] What are you saying, are you against giving the enterprises their independence?

[Kiselev] No, I am not. But sometimes this is bad for all the rest of us.

[Pastukhov] But still, certain restrictions have been placed on the enterprises that have been given the right to trade abroad, and they have to have licenses.

[Kiselev] It is possible to get around any restrictions if you really want to, and when we do not have the proper control the desire to do so comes up of its own accord. Once they have used their licenses, the enterprises enter into transactions with people who have unused licenses or who do not need them. And this raw material that is in short supply seeps out of the country.

Or another example. Uzbekistan is not fulfilling all of its cotton deliveries to the state this year, that is, to other republics, but it is not failing to fulfill them because it does not have the cotton but rather because it too apparently intends to sell cotton for hard currency—abroad or within the Union, but with a large advantage for itself. And with the present desire on the part of the republics for independence, it is problematic to try to make Uzbekistan do anything different. Just as it is a problem to force other republics to help Uzbekistan with meat and grain.

[Pastukhov] Is there a solution?

[Kiselev] The solution lies in the Union treaty that is in the making. But we do not have it yet. Therefore it seems that we should quickly gather the leaders of all republics around the roundtable and clarify our "raw material relations" and determine the immediate program for interaction.

[Pastukhov] But you would probably not succeed in gathering them all together.

[Kiselev] If you have in mind the Baltic republics and others like them, I say: The raw material problem has us by the throat and without a treaty we will not get out of its grips. Complete accord and confidence are needed here. Political accord and political confidence. Otherwise everyone will burn—and burn alone.

[Pastukhov] Who could gather everyone around the roundtable?

[Kiselev] This could be done by the country's government, the Council of the Federation, and the president...

[Pastukhov] What about the CPSU Central Committee?

[Kiselev] I think the CPSU Central Committee could be the initiator here, but by no means the organizer. It no longer has any power. But in any case, they must get together.

Life is showing us that today we also need some kind of Union organ which could deal with the day-to-day affairs of the branch.

[Pastukhov] What is wrong with the State Committee for Light Industry under the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] that was created to replace the country's Ministry of Light Industry?

[Kiselev] The ministry had many rights, and the State Committee for Light Industry has no rights but merely recommends and advises without directly managing economic life. The republic ministries of light industry have been unable to fill this gap, particularly because they were poorly controlled by the republic governments, which have now undergone large changes.

We end up with a paradox: Many branches which produce a total of one-half to one-third the quantities of products that light industry does have maintained their staffs—Union ministries—but light industry has lost its staff. Light industry gives the country R100 billion worth of products. Its products are the most diverse and are in demand every day, every hour. But the branch leadership has been weakened recently. Moreover its enterprises, and there are thousands of them, are scattered all over the entire Union...

[Pastukhov] Would it not be simpler to lease these enterprises to collectives and auction off the factories and plants as is required by the market relations toward which we are proceeding? Why should people in Moscow be in charge of people who are working 1,000 km away?

[Kiselev] In principle I agree with that. But, in the first place, in light industry so far there are few who want to lease enterprises or buy them from the state since there are no guarantees of deliveries of raw materials and people are afraid of losing their shirts in this business. In the second place, I have in mind a "Union organ" not in the former sense of these words. It should not be in charge of the economy and economic life in the local areas or the enterprises, but it would have to handle problems of concrete coordination in supply and the development of scientific and technical progress. There could be more than one of these organs, but they should all be formed by agreement with the republics, that is, the republics would "hire" and "maintain" these organs as long they had adequately cope with their tasks. And if they do not—goodbye.

[Pastukhov] One must assume that your plans are profound and thorough. But they are directed to the future. What should we tell PRAVDA readers regarding their disturbance over the empty shelves in the stores today?

[Kiselev] I cannot give any optimistic predictions yet. Incidentally, in the near future the country's Supreme Soviet intends to consider the problem of supplying the population with industrial goods. I hope that ways of resolving it will be found, although it will be an extremely difficult thing to do.[end Kiselev]

We said goodbye to Gennadiy Nikolayevich, and on going out into the street I was caught in a fall downpour, but I do not have a waterproof raincoat and my shoes are worn out. I automatically recalled the schedules in the meeting hall of the USSR People's Control Committee: With the existing rates of development of light industry, the demand of the citizens of our country for outer knitwear items will be fully satisfied in the year 2001, for hosiery items—in 2020, for sewn items—in 2033, and for leather footwear—in 2058.

We must undertake something right away, do something, our esteemed native government: On the street I saw people whose clothing and shoes were in much worse shape than mine... Winter is just around the corner.

RSFSR Finance Minister on Reform Prospects

914A0027A Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 11 Oct 90 p 13

[Interview with Boris Fedorov, finance minister of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, RSFSR, by Enrico Franceschini; place and date not given: "Prescription for USSR: A Thatcher Therapy"]

[Text] Moscow—At the time of Brezhnev's death in 1982, Boris Fedorov was 24 years old and, as an official of the Soviet State Bank, was studying the economy of the Western countries. Now, at a time when capitalism and democracy are about to come into being in the USSR, Boris Fedorov, 32, is the Russian government's finance minister. From his spacious office in the center of Moscow, he manages the funds of the biggest and richest of the Soviet Union's 15 republics, an immense region with 150 million inhabitants, and with 90 percent of the USSR's oil deposits and 70 percent of its ore and gold deposits. The FINANCIAL TIMES describes him as "one of the brightest lights" of the new Soviet power structure. The WALL STREET JOURNAL considers him "one of the smartest and most influential members of the new generation that is coming to the fore in the USSR."

It was Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic, who three months ago brought this communist technocrat, who preaches the virtues of the free market, into a government of unyielding radicals. He grew up, as he puts it, in a "working-class family," is tall, portly, wears thick lenses, has a perfect English accent, and the ways, the appearance, and the culture of a Western banker. Perhaps some day he may well be managing the monetary policy of the USSR as a whole, as governor of the Soviet Central Bank. Or he may even rise to greater heights. Gorbachev and Yeltsin are both 59, and the principal allies of each are all between 50 and 60 years of age. Fedorov, who will reach their age in 2010, represents the new management class that is destined to lead the Soviet Union in the 21st century. But as he points out in this interview granted to LA REPUBBLICA, the destiny of the USSR is a matter of days, not of years.

[Franceschini] Mr. Minister, many in your country and abroad wonder whether in the USSR an economic reform can be instituted without imposing sacrifices on the people.

[Fedorov] That would be highly desirable, but it is impossible to effect a true reform, to go from a state-directed economy to a market-directed economy without sacrifices affecting millions of persons. Let's take a case that has been debated recently, the bill to increase pensions: We know very well that many people in the USSR live below the poverty level, but we can't afford to add a new expenditure of 50 billion rubles to the budget. At this point in time, we can't afford to be as generous as we would like. We must live within our means. The majority of the politicians in Parliament think that we should just give, give, give. But if you are an economist, and your objective is stabilization of the economy, you cannot take that road. Spending money that we don't have is lunacy.

[Franceschini] Then is the 500 days reform that Gorbachev is to announce on 15 October likely to be a painful cure?

[Fedorov] It cannot be painless. To take just one example: If we trigger an interest rate rise, many firms will be in trouble. They will have to adjust to the price change, and adjusting will mean reducing the work force. We shall have to add new sectors to the economy and expand others. Many persons will have to change their line of work. Many firms will not be in a position to increase wages as they have been able to do over the past two years. Wages will have to remain frozen, and in some cases they will have to be lowered below present levels. The government's task will be to reduce the impact of the most acute of these difficulties, so that those who can't work, who really cannot learn a new line of work, who are unable to acquire a free-enterprise mentality, will receive some measure of compensation. But other people, people like ourselves, will simply have to work, that's all.

[Franceschini] Do you think the country will adjust?

[Fedorov] What other choice do we have? If we continue as we are now going, shops will continue empty and the time will come when people will have to emigrate by the millions.

[Franceschini] One hears that the Russians, after 73 years of socialism, have grown intolerant of the inequalities of class and income; that they envy the "new rich" of the private cooperatives; that they all prefer wait on line, rather than see some having more money and privileges.

[Fedorov] I think that view is too much of a generalization. If you ask individual persons, you will find many who are not the least bit lazy, who are brimming with ideas, and who have nothing against wage inequalities. In two years, we have four million persons who work in private cooperatives. They were teachers, government employees, engineers, and technicians who all of a sudden became free-enterprisers. If we were to give them protection and incentives, their number might well reach 40 million in the space of a year. And by then, the process would be irreversible. But of course, there are persons who never will want to work. This occurs in all countries. There are people who prefer to receive unemployment compensation, who stay out of the labor market even when the market offers them jobs. People who prefer to be maintained by the state, while they spend the day smoking, producing nothing, and collecting their pay just the same.

[Franceschini] You have said that you consider Margaret Thatcher's economic policy a good example...

[Fedorov] To be exact, I have said only that for seven years I was head of monetary policy at the Soviet State Bank, and that in that capacity I had occasion to delve into Mrs. Thatcher's economic policy. But the fact is that she has been bold and courageous in her campaign to privatize the state-directed sector of the economy. We, on the other hand, have not been bold or courageous enough, thus far, to dismantle even the most minuscule state participation in the national industrial sector. Mrs. Thatcher had to privatize only a few big companies, and to accomplish this she was able to count on an active financial market. We are in a vastly different situation, but we must also do it.

[Franceschini] Economist Leonid Abalkin, vice president of the Council of Ministers, in fact says that the reform advocated by Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and by you, will entail political instability. He says that only a more conservative reform can succeed, and he terms ingenuous any thought of containing inflation by not printing money, limiting the money supply...

[Fedorov] Let me say that Abalkin understands absolutely nothing about money, so that I am unable to argue with him on these matters. We are proposing to halt inflation not simply by not printing paper money, but by cutting our spending budget, creating new monetary policy stratagems, raising interest rates, and privatizing large sectors of state-owned assets. Is it all that ingenuous to think in these terms?

[Franceschini] You were part of the "team" that developed the "500 days" program, a team of 12 economists gathered together in a dacha throughout August. What was the intellectual climate of those meetings?

[Fedorov] It was an ongoing debate, a very interesting and stimulating one, especially toward the end, when under instructions issued by Gorbachev, the Soviet government began coming to meet with us in the dacha. We found ourselves talking with Prime Minister Ryzhkov, his deputy Abalkin, sitting around a table, just as we are talking now. And if nothing else, it is a great moral satisfaction to be able to tell someone face-to-face exactly what you think; indeed, to be able to tell Abalkin that he knows absolutely nothing about monetary policy, that he knows nothing about how money is created...

[Franceschini] The stated objective of the reform is to introduce into the USSR a "market-directed economy." Why don't you call it by its real name: capitalism?

[Fedorov] Our intent was to not use the words "capitalism" and "socialism" at any time whatever in the more than 600 pages of the reform program. Why? Because our objective is to avoid producing ideological labels. Just what does capitalism mean? Is there a scientific definition of the term? I don't know of one. We are seeking to build a pragmatic economy that works. If it works, if it is efficient, then it is of use to us; if not, it is of no use, no matter what one calls it.

[Franceschini] Some think that whatever it is called, it comes too late, that it is now too late for the reform to save the USSR, that too much time has been lost.

[Fedorov] Let us hope it is not too late. But it could be. Especially if we do nothing over the next several weeks.

[Franceschini] Weeks?

[Fedorov] Yes. We have about reached the point of our last gasp. Because the process of disintegration of the country is at a very advanced stage. The secessionist push by many republics has become severe, and unless we do something now, immediately, the 1st of January is certain to be too late. We may still be in time. It's possible. In this country, everything is possible. But one must have the political resolve to act.

[Franceschini] Gorbachev appears still to be in doubt, hesitant between the moderates in government and the Yeltsin radicals...

[Fedorov] We cannot know for certain what he is thinking, what the reasons are behind his cautious approach. Publicly, he has supported our plan, but he has to come to terms with many forces, with many components of our society that are in a position to make their influence felt.

[Franceschini] Mr. Minister, you are a member of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union]. You are a communist, yet you are working to dissolve the socialist-model economy. Don't you feel split in two, so to speak?

[Fedorov] No. In our country, there are still 20 million people who call themselves communists. I am one of them. But I do not consider myself a political figure. I am simply a technician, a professional called upon to carry out a task. In this country, the Communist Party was not only a party; it became an institution of the state. And now many people, and especially the old-line communists, find it difficult to adjust to the change. As far as I am concerned, I have my own idea of what communism means: A better life for the people. That's all. And for the moment I am quite content to live with this idea.

[Franceschini] Gorbachev and his reformers have been renamed "Sons of the 20th Congress"; in other words, the generation that grew up politically under Krushchev's reformist and anti-Stalinist change of course. What, instead, could your generation be called? What was the way of thinking of the Soviets who are now in their 30's? What were the formative factors in their development?

[Fedorov] I don't believe there is a ready-made name for us. We were rather fortunate not to have lived too long in the period of fierce repression and stagnation. We had the good fortune to see great changes, beginning already in 1985 with the coming of Gorbachev. And my personal good fortune has been to have become an expert in Western economy in the days when it was certainly not advisable to talk about introducing a market-directed economy into the USSR. I can say, though, that the views I now hold are those I have held for a long time, even though I did not express them from an important platform such as I now occupy. I believe that as far back as 1975, or even before, everyone, at least in Moscow, was already talking the same as today about the country's problems. The difference is that the talk then took place in the kitchen instead of in public debate; and the criticism was expressed in part through satire in humor. Today there is very little left to laugh about.

Agricultural

Weather and Crops Report for Early October

PM1710135290 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Oct 90 p 3

[Report by Agrometeorologist O. Pisarenko: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Cold weather continued over the greater part of the Northern Region, the north of the Volga-Vyatka Region, and the Urals Region. The minimum air temperature fell to minus six or minus 10 decrees. Over the remainder of the USSR's European territory the weather was unsettled. And where there was precipitation on four to seven days, and in places on eight to nine days, conditions remained extremely unfavorable for the completion of harvesting work. There is still excessive moisture in the upper stratum of the soil nearly everywhere. In the northeast of the Central Region, in the Northern Region, over the greater part of the Volga-Vyatka Region, and in the northwestern half of the Urals Region a temporary snow cover was formed.

Frosts, which were recorded everywhere, may have damaged root and tuber crops that had been dug up but not removed from the fields, as well as vegetable crops and corn leaves. In the North Caucasus Region and Astrakhan Oblast partial damage to gourds and tomatoes was observed. Over the greater part of the Ukraine and the North Caucasus Region, in Moldova [Moldavia], and in the south of the Volga Region there was precipitation on only one to three days, and here conditions for harvesting late grain crops were favorable.

In regions north of a line linking Leningrad, Kostroma, Izhevsk, and Kurgan, vegetative growth of winter grain crops stopped seven to 10 days earlier than the average dates. The condition of these crops is mainly good or satisfactory. In the southern half of the Volga-Vyatka and Urals Regions and the northern half of the Volga Region conditions for plant growth and development were mainly good. In the main, winter grain crops were in the tillering phase. As for the southwest of the Northwestern Region, the Baltic, Belorussia, the Central Region, and the north of the Central Chernozem Region, winter crops were tillering only weakly. In the main, they are in the shoot and third leaf phases.

In the crop farming zone of Western Siberia and the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan, warm weather, favorable to the completion of harvesting work, continued for the first half of the 10-day period. However, in the middle of the 10-day period there was a sharp drop in temperature in Kazakhstan and in Tomsk and Omsk Oblasts, and there was heavy rain, with snow in places. In this zone winter grain crops were mainly in the tillering phase.

In southern Kazakhstan and in the Central Asian republics warm and mainly dry weather, favorable for the mass harvesting of cotton, continued in the first half of the 10-day period. Later the air temperature fell by eight to 12 degrees. There was rain nearly everywhere. This made harvesting work more difficult, and interrupted it in places. The harvested cotton required additional drying. Frosts, which were recorded over most of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], caused damage to the cotton leaves and unopened bolls.

In the last days of the 10-day period the rain stopped and conditions for harvesting the cotton improved.

Russian Regions Show Variable Harvest Performance

PM1610141790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "Harvest-90"]

[Text] Orel—Orel's cooperative workers have supplied Moscow with 6,000 tonnes of choice potatoes in excess of contract commitments. Potato sales are particularly active in Soskovskiy, Khotynetskiy, and Kromskiy Rayons. The capital has received a total of 26,000 tonnes of the "second grain" from Orel's potato farmers. The Orel area is still the only oblast in the central part of the country to have efficiently fulfilled its contract commitments to Moscow.

Syktyvkar—The state of emergency introduced by the Komi ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has helped not to leave fields unharvested amid the snow, but the harvest is still small: On average 89 quintals of potatoes and 111 quintals of cabbage have been harvested per hectare. Komi ASSR Ministry of Agricultural Production, Procurements, and Processing sovkhozes [state farms] have as supplied 16,000 tonnes of potatoes for sale to the population against a target of 43,000 tonnes. Approximately another 7,000 tonnes have been bought up from the population. But the republic needs 80,000 tonnes to be laid in for food.

Labor Shortage Prompts New Methods in Far East

PM1710154190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 15 Oct 90

[Report by correspondents L. Savitskiy and L. Borisenko from Maritime Kray—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text][Correspondent] This year's summer has been the wettest summer of the last 100 years in Maritime Kray. But it was not the typhoons and bad weather which most damaged the crops. In the heat of the election campaign political battles the kray's enterprises, forgetting about the daily bread, failed to conclude contracts with rural workers for the joint production of potatoes and vegetables. And this is the result: Potatoes and vegetables have rotted on thousands of hectares, like this water-logged field on the Razdolnenskiy Sovkhoz [state farm].

The decision on emergency measures adopted by the Kray Soviet in September was a decision for the sake of adopting a decision. It lacked the most essential factor—an implementation mechanism.

Now city dwellers are working in the fields. But it is estimated that local production will cover only 20 percent of the kray's potato requirement. This is unprecedented. Potatoes are now being bought elsewhere, at contract prices, or bartered for hard currency, fish, cement, or timber. As result the kray's material resources will be depleted by 200 million rubles' worth of goods. In this situation rural workers are having to devise management levers for themselves.

[N.A. Britvin, Razdolnenskiy Sovkhoz director] We are still pinning our hopes on help from the cities, of course, but we are beginning to work independently. We have, for instance, concluded an agreement with China for the supply of manpower for vegetable growing. We are resolving questions with the help of sponsors, that is our seamen. We are turning to seamen to obtain equipment abroad—U.S. and Japanese equipment. With the help of this equipment we hope to increase our yields and gather crops with a minimum of manpower.

[Correspondent] Life has shown yet again that efficiency on vegetable plantations cannot be achieved using old methods. A new economic system is needed to stimulate the initiative of both sides—cities and the countryside. So far only lip service is being paid to such a system in Maritime Kray.

Tajik Farms Break Contracts, Chase Prices

PM1610084190 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZHN in Russian 11 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by own correspondent I. Semykin: "Where Are All the Tomatoes Going?"]

[Excerpts] Tajikistan's farms are not meeting their state orders for fruit and vegetables, but are energetically carrying out barter transactions. [passage omitted]

What is the problem? Why is there no produce? Where have the fruit and vegetables gone? According to the republic Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee], canneries have experienced a shortfall of 12,500 tonnes of produce, including around 6,000 tonnes of vegetables. Since the beginnning of this year only one-third of the order for the supply of agricultural products to the republic internal market has been met. Shipments of contracted contributions from the south to union stocks are 39,000 tonnes short. And all this despite the fact that on the whole a good crop has been grown in Tajikistan this year.

Where, then, are the fruit and vegetables?

Many people in the republic today traditionally put the blame on the weather and agricultural pests. But in fact this is so pathetic a reason that it is not worth considering seriously. Yes, the summer was unsually hot. Some truck-farm crops have suffered, but only a negligible amount.

The main reason lies elsewhere. Surprising as it may be, it lies in the inexorably approaching switch to market relations. Concerned at rising prices, Tajikistan's kolkhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms] have launched themselves into earning capital and supplying agricultural products to the regions of Siberia, the Far East, and the Urals at contract prices. At first glance, this was the case before. There is a relevant plan and reciprocal contracts for this purpose. Almost 55,000 tonnes of vegetables alone are supposed to be shipped from Tajikistan farms for union stocks. But it has not happened yet. The whole secret is that the shipments are above-plan shipments, while contracts remain unfufilled. Today the leaders of the farms in the south are seeking richer purchasers and are sending them tomatoes, apples, grapes, and melons... While those who are poorer remain with nothing or, more accurately, with an unfulfilled contract in their hands.

It has to be acknowledged that the leaders of fruit and vegetable farms have forgotten about the existence of the republic's internal market. Many of them also ignore contracted and planned supplies to the all-union stocks.

Some officials have still not learned how to fulfill contracts. They sign them with one hand and put them to one side with the other. Notions of honor, duty, and decency are now not rated very highly. There is a contract, and then a good customer turns up and offers a better price for the same tomatoes... And furthermore wants to ship them with his own transportation. Without a moment's hesitation regarding the merits of his actions, a leader will hastily sign a new document while still not having met his commitments under previous contracts. According to the latest figures, Tajikistan has dispatched 16,000 tonnes of vegetables, around 2,000 tonnes of fruit, and 6,000 tonnes of carrots. And all this, despite the fact that the plan for supplies to the union stocks is not being met.

All this contains yet another paradox: According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, 23.7 percent of cabbages sent to consumers which were checked were substandard or altogether unfit for consumption, and the corresponding figures for onions, tomatoes, and melons were 28.8, 61, and 26 percent! That is what, it transpires, some southern farms are sending to Siberia and the Urals. Here it is worth reminding people once again about honor and pride or, more accurately, the lack of them. It is a pity that such leaders do not hear the words sometimes used to describe the produce consigned to dumps somewhere in Tyumen or Usinsk. It is a pity that appropriate sanctions are not applied to them.

There is yet another substantial disadvantage in above-plan shipment. By picking the tomatoes from the bush during the milky ripeness stage or when they are brown or more often simply green, the vegetable-growers do great harm to the plants: They begin to wilt, the yield declines, and revenue drops off. Last year it was possible to buy tomatoes in Dushanbe that were still fresh at the end of November. Now there are virtually none in the city.

Foreseeing the mass exodus of agricultural produce from Tajikistan, the republic government adopted a decree back in the spring temporarily limiting export in excess of the set plan and concluded contracts. These proscriptive measures have remained virtually on paper only. Persistent members of trade and purchasing cooperatives and enterprising farm leaders manage to get export permission without undue effort. Thousands of tonnes are shipped by air, road, and rail. Indignant recently at the lack of fresh cucumbers on sale and their high price in the market, the chief of the republic quarantine inspectorate sought to refuse the appropriate export authorization. But what can he do when a cooperative member has Gosagroprom authorization?

There was also a recent attempt to get leaders to see sense—to no avail! At the recent republic internal fair held to conclude contracts for next year contracts for only 40 percent of requirements were signed . A low price is unenticing and opportunities for barter deals are limited. Herein lies the whole root of the evil. Discussion with farm leaders on this score was hard going. And it ultimately amounted to a single conclusion:

"Necessity forces us to ship fruit and vegetables to the inhabitants of Siberia and the Urals. It is not just rubles but the hundreds of cubic meters of lumber, thousands of tonnes of cement, slate, metal, gasoline, and equipment which interest us. We obtain even nails and polythene film in exchange for fruit and vegetables. That is more important than money. With this we will be able to work tomorrow. Necessity forces us to make such deals..."

A normal market is required.

Scientific

19 Oct Space Walk Postponed, Rescheduled 30 Oct

LD1810110390 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow October 18 TASS—A space walk by Soviet cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, which was originally scheduled for October 19, has been postponed and tentatively slated for October 30, Pilot-Cosmonaut of the USSR Valeriy Polyakov, deputy director of the USSR Health Ministry's Institute for Medico-Biological Problems, told TASS.

The two cosmonauts have been working aboard the Soviet orbital complex Mir for more than two and a half months now.

"The reason for the postponement is quite simple. A cosmonaut is, naturally, not a robot or automaton. He remains an ordinary human and, unfortunately, is susceptible to ailments lurking in his path even in orbit," Polyakov said.

"Due to a slight overcooling by on-board fans after a 'running track' training session, the flight engineer caught cold.

"During tests, the cold became apparent in Strekalov's declining capacity for work," Polyakov said.

"However, this in no way influenced the implementation of the flight programme," Polyakov added. "But. considering the entire complexity of extravehicular activities, medical specialists and the mission control centre took, to my mind, quite a reasonable decision to postpone a space walk."

The flight engineer does not need any special treatment. He merely took ascorbic acid, which is in the first-aid kit on board. Physicians on earth agreed with his action. There was no need for any other medicamentous adjustment.

During the space walk, the cosmonauts will repair the egress hatch positioned on the Kvant-2 module.

During the flight of the sixth main expedition—Anatoliy Solovev and Aleksandr Balandin—the hatch failed to close. The malfunction was later corrected by the cosmonauts during the subsequent space walk.

The seventh expedition crew are to check the hatch and do everything possible for it to function without any hitch.

The postponement of the space walk until October 30 somewhat disconcerted Strekalov, who would prefer to walk in space on October 28, on his 50th birthday.

Nuclear Safety Official Discusses Power Plants

LD1710124490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Interview with Anatoliy Ivanovich Belov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee to Supervise Work Safety in the Nuclear Power Industry, by correspondent Sergey Omelchenko at the Energo-Eko '90 exhibition in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Omelchenko] How would you assess the current level of safety in the nuclear power industry?

[Belov] As far as operational indices are concerned, they can now be assessed as close to the indices existing abroad, especially regarding the utilization factor of installed capacity. Regarding the index for the number of unplanned stoppages, this index is 2.5 unplanned stoppages a year per reactor.

[Omelchenko] In September the international seven-point scale for assessing incidents in the nuclear power industry was introduced in our country. Using this scale, how would you assess the current state of safety in the industry?

[Belov] The incidents currently occurring at nuclear power stations are assessed as being lower than the first level on this scale. Clearly, we will record them as ordinary incidents linked with the failure of equipment. They do not have any substantial influence on safety.

[Omelchenko] Anatoliy Ivanovich, I am deeply convinced that without developing the nuclear power industry it is not possible to develop the electrical power industry, because this is the cleanest form of power ecologically. Of course, safe nuclear power stations are essential. It is impossible to achieve this absolutely, but nuclear power stations [AES] with enhanced safety are now being built.

[Belov] The technical project AES-88/1 is currently nearing completion. It now has to be thoroughly examined by interested organizations, including the State Committee To Supervise Work Safety in the Nuclear Power Industry. It is our job to make sure the project is properly substantiated from the safety aspect. During examination of this project, a public expert examination will also be carried out, so as to remove mistrust in the nuclear power industry. We expect that the safety level in the new project for nuclear power stations with enhanced safety will be one or two orders higher than the safety level of nuclear power stations already operating.

Seminar Discusses Chernobyl Accident Consequences

LD1810045590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Oct (TASS)—A scientific analysis of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station [AES] in 1986, and an evaluation of the measures taken for improving safety at atomic stations and further actions in this area, were at the center of attention of Soviet specialists who came to the seminar "Scientific Problems in Eliminating the Results of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES" today. This discussion, attended by over 50 specialists, was organized by the USSR Nuclear Society and the Igor Kurchatov Institute for Atomic Power.

Today the situation at the Chernobyl AES is normal: emissions from the fourth unit, enclosed in a sarcophagus, are 100 times less than those at the cleanest French atomic station, noted Aleksandr Borovoy, doctor of physical mathematical sciences, and research fellow at the Institute for Atomic Power. Besides, he said, scientific research has enabled us to corroborate once again the estimate according to which the emission of radioactive fuel following the 1986 accident was 3.5 percent of its total amount at the station. However, Aleksandr Borovoy went on, the initial estimates of the emission of such fuel components as cesium—13 percent—and iodine—about 20 percent—were at least three times lower than the actual value.

Scientists consider the future fate of the sarcophagus to be unclear for the time being. They have put forward several versions of what could be done with the temporary shelter. First, the sarcophagus could be completely dismantled and turned into "a green meadow"; second, a second hermetic shelter could be constructed; and finally, the sarcophagus could be buried under earth, thereby creating an artificial mound.

Andrey Gagarinskiy, deputy director of the Institute for Atomic Power, spoke about the main problems facing Soviet atomic power engineering today. According to him, the main tasks include the creation of new safe reactors, the dismantling of obsolete power units (the Leningrad, Kursk, and Chernobyl AES's), and the burying of radioactive waste.

First AIDS Case Reported in Chelyabinsk

LD1610233590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Report by S. Sergeyev in Chelyabinsk; from the "Vremya" Newscast]

[Text] We have received an alarming report from Chelyabinsk. The first AIDS sufferer has been detected in this large industrial center.

[Sergeyev] We've come to the newly opened consultative and diagnostic clinic, organized under the oblast centre for combating AIDS, the first in the city which has a population of 1 million. Here one can be examined, anonymously if required, by supplying blood for analysis. One can receive specialist advice, and there is no need to come here in person for that: it is sufficient to call a confidential telephone number.

[V.N. Tarasov, head of the oblast center for combating AIDS] I think that an AIDS epidemic has already begun in the South Urals. So far, we have detected one sufferer, but experience shows that there are tens, and possible hundreds, of HIV-infected people today in the oblast.

[Sergeyev] What is to prevent one from reliably closing off the channels of the spread of HIV infection?

[Tarasov] Well, there are several reasons. First of all, I should like to draw attention to the extremely low level at which treatment and prevention institutions are supplied with medical instruments and medical equipment. It is sufficient to cite the following examples. Although our oblast needs 70 million disposable syringes a year, we receive only 3.5 million. As you can see, that is virtually no more than 10 percent [as heard]. The position is very bad as regards disposable dental instruments. There are not enough dry-fat cupboards [sukhozhirovykh shkafov] or autoclaves. In such conditions, it is very difficult, even where medical staff are working well, to ensure a 100 percent barrier against AIDS.

Equipment Shortages Affect Anti-AIDS Effort

PM1610155590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1355 GMT 11 Oct 90

[From the "Scientific Herald" program: Untitled feature on AIDS issues in USSR]

[Text] Local soviets can substantially influence the situation with regard to AIDS. A current example: The Leningrad Soviet allocated half a million foreign currency rubles to an interdepartmental laboratory for the study of AIDS. This money was used for the purchase of expensive imported equipment.

It is regrettable that this has not resolved all the problems. Advanced screening systems and disposable instruments, gloves, and test tubes—all this remains a dream. Disposable? There are not even enough standard test tubes. Those that there are are stored like this, in these conditions after they have been used for the most dangerous batches of risk groups [video shows a number of waste bins].

Let us remind you that, according to scientists' predictions, AIDS is expected to peak in 1996-98.

Military

Yazov in Honor Guard for Deceased Gen Voloshin

PM1610153390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "On His Final Journey"]

[Text] On 11 October servicemen of the USSR Armed Forces and working people of Moscow saw off on his final journey Army General Ivan Makarovich Voloshin, eminent Soviet military leader and participant in the Great Patriotic War.

The Red Banner Hall of the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army, where the coffin containing the deceased's body was set up, was bedecked in mourning. There were many wreaths around the catafalque.

In the honor guard were Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, member of the Presidential Council and USSR minister of defense; USSR deputy defense ministers; and military chiefs.

A funeral service took place in Novodevichye Cemetery where I.M. Voloshin was buried.

KGB Border Troops' Role in Afghanistan Viewed

91UF0053A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondent V. Filin: "Not One Deserter During the Entire War—That Is How Soviet Border Guards Fought in Afghanistan"—quoted passages are as published]

[Text] It is 15 February 1989. The Khayraton Bridge is festive. Flowers, an orchestra, movies, and television.

A tired General Gromov is on the bridge: "Everyone is out. Not one Soviet soldier is left behind."

No offense meant, but the general was not entirely accurate then. True, none of them were part of the 40th Army, but on that day the border troops, arriving late for an evening Rosenbaum concert in the Termez Officers Club, were the last to leave Afghanistan.

Time passed. Ivan Mikhaylovich Korobeynikov, a lieutenant general and chief of one of the directorates of the Main Directorate of Border Troops of the USSR KGB, unhurriedly answers my questions.

"Ivan Mikhaylovich, how did the border troops get involved in that war?"

"It is difficult for me to talk about all of the circumstances—I can talk only about what affected me personally. I think that everything was justified then. The Afghan war which had just started gave rise to a host of problems. One of them was how to guarantee the inviolability of the Soviet border and the safety of the population in our border areas. The 40th Army, accomplishing its tasks, encountered an opposition that was growing from day to day, and the "jihad" had begun. More and more many mujahidin were attempting to get to the Soviet border, and not just to take a look at it of course."

I think that all of this served as a background for the subsequent government decision—naturally, at the request of the Afghan leadership—to bring a small contingent of USSR KGB border troops into the northern provinces of Afghanistan to guard our borders. Composite combat detachments of the Central Asian and Eastern Border Districts, as they were then called, participated. As a rule they were made up of volunteers. They were positioned in the form of small garrisons. Their places of deployment in Afghanistan were selected, taking into account the aggressiveness of the actions of the mujahidin, so as to prevent them from reaching the Soviet border. At first these were toward Pamir and Pyandzh, and afterwards gradually a so-called zone of responsibility was organized for the border troops which included part of the territory of all of the northern provinces of Afghanistan to a depth of somewhere up to 100 kilometers....

It now seems that this was in somebody else's life. Not in mine.

Crew helicopter assignments, mission tasking. Major Valera Korolenko, senior operator, says strictly your helicopter is such and such. Takeoff at 0630 hours. Understood?

And afterwards there is a short sleeping bag for some reason, and sweltering sleeplessness. In the morning I accidentally see how Colonel Korobeynikov, the senior officer on this operation, the leader, surreptitiously discards an empty packet of sedatives. Feeling nervous, he spits on his hands—Let's go! And then there is the helicopter, it begins to shake while descending. The flight engineer opens the doors with a jerk: "Out!"

Stooping, the assault landing party pours out below. I am the last. The pulse, as always, is over 200. There is no past, and no future either. There is a field on the edge of the village that is filled with rocks and looks like the bottom of a glass. There is also Captain Kolya Dubchak, the political officer of the assault landing party. Swearing desperately and waving his assault rifle, he pulls his legs out of the watery mud of the water-covered field; there is the stalwart medical assistant, Yura Kutsenko, who has already gotten to the edge of the "landing site" and is blazing away at barely visible lights above. There are members of the assault force who spill out in two's and three's over the field and lie behind boulders at the foot of the cliffs. They are also firing. This is the capture group. There are helicopters in a circular pattern above us, and not far off there is the crack of bursting NUR's [unguided rockets]. Over the airwaves there seems to be a chaos of commands and reports. We have to get to the top in order to straddle the ridge overlooking the gorge. Otherwise, the helicopters will be forced to turn away or they will be shot down on landing.

Forward! Or upward. It makes no difference. War in the mountains has no front, rear, or flanks. Either you get him first, or he gets you. Although there was a rear. One could almost touch the Union, probably about one kilometer away. You could even see the same mountains, stream, and a deserted road above it. Yesterday from here—from Afghanistan—somebody shot up a jeep on Soviet territory. A woman was wounded. But that was yesterday. Now we are yelling with a hoarse voice—forward! I hear Valera Korolenko over the radio, almost in open text: A summer camp above the path is not letting us through, they are firing from there; volunteers, grab two grenades each and follow me!

"Ivan Mikhaylovich, everyone who has been in Afghanistan has been written about except the border troops. Why is that?"

"It is difficult to say. It is possible that everything that concerned the 'Afghan subject' was at first classified, and possibly because we are KGB troops; and what is more we are in Afghanistan, but perhaps in order not to incite the mujahidin into actions specifically aimed at the Soviet border troops which also cannot be excluded. But also of course, a secret is a secret, which does not need any explanation. Outwardly we were not distinguishable from the 40th Army. Soldiers and officers wore the same uniform, and the shoulder boards were altered into combined arms shoulder boards. Perhaps the only special feature was that all rear services and combat operations support, and also all border area aircraft, were situated on Soviet territory, in border troop detachment dispositions."

We were fighting on the territory of a neighboring state and we were guarding the same border with the usual methods. Actually the Central Asia Border District was carrying a double if not a triple load. The number of personnel in the detachments exceeded by three to four times and more that which existed "before the war." Plus the seven officers who arrived from other border districts. There was a catastrophic shortage of living accommodations.

Recalling those days now, I am struck by the courage and endurance of our people under those conditions. And the main thing is that there was no shortage of volunteers. From across the country they wrote asking to be sent to Afghanistan, and many officers requested second and even third "tours."

...What happened is past. Kolya Dubchak also stayed for a "second" tour—one did not seem to be enough.... He lived in a small apartment, and there was water only in the morning and in the evening. When he flew to the Union after a field operation, he immediately ran to the line at the military store, otherwise something might not be available.... How many went through this: Volodya Radchuk, Tolya Turulov, Yura Trudiyev, Nail Nurullin, Valentin Medvedev, Viktor Meshcheryakov....

Military fate brought me together with them at various times, and it once again separated us. What kind of people are they? It is hard to say. Warrant Officer Vaska Gula wrote verses and Major Aleksandr Gudymov songs. Virtuoso field engineers Sergey Gordeyev, Vitaliy Polunin, and Oleg Ulevatyy always preferred the most dangerous work. Oleg once made a mistake, but he is still living. Now he is a teacher. Lieutenant Yuriy Vorobyev combined two professions—surgeon and field engineer. He took an unexploded grenade from an automatic grenade launcher out of the body of Private Vitaliy Grabovenko. Helicopter assault troop officers Vladimir Maslakov, Yura Lopushka, Kolya Rulev, and Sergey Nechayev literally became legends and getting to serve in assault landing airmobile border troop subunits which they commanded at different times was no easier than getting into the International Relations Institute. Afghanistan made everyone equal, and if a soldier protected an officer from a bullet, as for example Sasha Kasev did, then this was in general normal. And there were many like him....

It was bad when your own people were dying. The war.... I recall how the flight suit of someone who perished remained untouched on a hanger in the cloak room of the assault landing troops, and also his "demobilization" items. His cot was also not touched, until there were not enough available. After a certain time, the name of the comrade appeared on the display stand at the barracks. It is as if he remained here. But walking past, one did not want to look at the blank spots on this stand....

"Ivan Mikhaylovich, could you talk about some victories or defeats, after all it was war?"

"I am a professional. And I can make judgments from a military point of view about our operations, and what succeeded and what did not. There were victories, of course; but we never had the aim of destroying anyone completely. This is the principal thing. We did everything to prevent subversive activity on our border. At the request of the Afghan authorities, we also took part in combat operations. Jointly with the Afghans and units of the 40th Army, we carried out a number of large air assault and tactical operations in our zone of responsibility at that time, mainly in routing major bases of band formations close to the border—Shar-Shar, Marmol, Alburs for example, or Darband. There were many smaller operations of a particular nature. In doing this, the main condition was minimal losses."

We tried as much as possible not to cause unwarranted damage to the country in which we were fighting. At times we were able to reach agreement with the opposition and not to fight at all. There were rayons where not one shot was fired for all those years. There were of course mistakes as well, and disappointments and failures. And there also were unjustified losses. War is waged beautifully only in the movies. But in fact, it is dismal soldiers' work which everyone pays for.

...Well, I'll be! Kolya Dubchak, with his swollen fingers, was turning the knob of the radio to the frequency of the helicopters. We somehow had crawled to the top and ended up too close to the target of their attack. The NUR's were exploding nearby. Through ringing in the head, one could hear a vibrating voice over the radio loudspeaker: "Show yourself. Where are you? I do not see you..." Within seconds: "Ah, understood. I see you. Guide me." Kulish "showed" him where the enemy was with a long burst of tracers. The helicopter pulled up its tail, and the smoky NUR's with tracer trails headed for the ground. They were being directed against groups of people in wide clothing, fast-moving points that were diving among the rocks almost at the very bottom of the gorge. Did they leave? It is not evening yet, forward! Now we descend into a small village consisting of several shacks. On the other side of the gorge, heading in that direction, was Captain Urantsev's group, barely distinguishable among the boulders and crevices of the cliffs. The sun from above, as always, was beating down on everyone who was fighting below.

"Ivan Mikhaylovich, do you recall the much-talked-of shelling of the city of Pyandzh by the mujahidin in 1987?"

"I should think so. I was then already the chief of troops of the Central Asia Border District. We were continuously getting data on attempts to fire on our territory. But to calculate the place from which they would fire, and what is more to prevent this, as you realize, is a task that is difficult to execute."

In the case of the firing on Pyandzh, few people know today that everything could have been much worse if it were not for the operations of the mortarmen of a border detachment. Gulom Ortabulak's band readied more than a hundred firings for the shelling with recoilless guns and "ground-to-ground" launchers. They succeeded in executing a salvo. As they say, the ground had not yet settled from the explosions when our mortar subunit executed a retaliatory salvo. The mortar shells hit accurately, and the bandits were forced to withdraw. And early in the morning, jointly with units of the 40th Army, we began Operation "Retribution." The rest has been written about one time or another.

Our enemy was strong. According to our data there were 30-40,000 mujahidin in the border troops' zone of responsibility. Some armed groups of the opposition represented tribal formations, and they did not fight us if we did not provoke them. All of the rest were splendidly equipped for local conditions, and if it can be put this way, they were professionals. I am speaking from a military point of view, of course.

So we learned something about fighting from them, and they learned something from us. Seven border guard-"afgantsy" [veterans of Afghanistan] became Heroes of the Soviet Union. By the way, they were also written about.

A pilot, as they say "from God," Colonel Farit Shagaleyev was the first in the border troops to begin the landing of assault troops at mountain heights higher than 3,500 meters, including at night. His colleague, Major Valeriy Popkov, literally extracted comrades "from that world"—the crew of a downed helicopter. By the way, there were quite a few such cases throughout the history of the war. Major Aleksandr Pashkovskiy, for example, was able to save not only comrades but also a helicopter....

The rest of our heroes are officers of the border troop airmobile assault subunits: Nikolay Lukashov, Ivan Barsukov, and Viktor Kapshchuk, then still a master sergeant but now a lieutenant. Posthumously decorated officers Aleksandr Bogdanov and Valeriy Ukhabov. Incidentally, one of the main conclusions I drew from the war was this: We were lucky with the kind of people we had. And if the assessment of the whole Afghan war is a matter for history and politicians, then I think that it should not affect the soldiers. For their difficult work, they earned the highest words of gratitude. I am prepared to talk about people endlessly. There were various kinds of people, of course. There were also criminals. But judge for yourself: We did not have one deserter or traitor in the whole war, no one was captured, and not one wounded or dead comrade was left with the enemy.

"What can be said today about border troop losses?"

"Some 515 persons died and about 3,000 were wounded, shell-shocked, and crippled. The USSR KGB is now preparing an 'in-memoriam book,' and it will have all of the specific information. The book should come out at the end of next year."

Is this everything. In general, yes. Was it worth recalling that war is always the same.... It was worth it, and not only to be able to say thank you to everyone who was in the "zone of responsibility." It was worth it for the sake of the memory of those who died. For the sake of those for whom the war has not ended yet. While subordinates of Nikolay Reznichenko dig out mines, which yesterday's mujahidin are placing on the border, the former enemies fire at them "from there." The war, although not visible, has not ended for them. It is the same semi-field campaign life, eternal sand in the teeth and the other delights of service in the Central Asia Border District. Kushka, Takhta-Bazar, Korki, Termez.... Many have spread out over the country. You can pick up the phone and hear the solid voices of Genka Loginov, Vitka Sushkov, Sergey Smetannikov.... These are in Moscow, for the time being.

The burst aimed at my back sounds as if it was not meant for me. I somehow get below, crouching; I am looking for water. The battle has long since subsided, although firing can be heard periodically in various places.

Instinctively bending down I jump on the roof of some kind of little shed which is below me, jutting out of the mountain slope. The roof falls through, and this saves me from a second burst. I end up inside a shaky structure, and I try to get out of it without making any noise. I succeed. I estimate where the firing is coming from. Hell and my own people are a little way off, and they will not get here in time if something.... I pick up a stone, and lying down I toss it away from me. Stop. There. That bush. It seems it moved, perhaps someone is there. It is about 30 to 40 meters away.

I hold the assault rifle closer to myself so that there will be less scattering of bullets, and when the bushes move again I empty my whole magazine in that direction. Right then I reload, and I roll over to another spot. I wait. I throw another stone. It is quiet. Hesitating, I crawl upward toward those bushes. For some reason I am shaking, and even my teeth are chattering.

I see him immediately. The person is lying in a twisted position and his head is turned unnaturally. There is a Chinese AK [assault rifle] near his stomach which was split by a bullet. His magazine, I look, has five cartridges. They could have been "mine." Next to the dripping there are also depressions in the collar bone—a hole from a bullet. He is not young, more appropriately he was not young. That is all. How did he miss?

I start to leave, but something bothers me. It is the hands. They are gnarled, black, with deep wrinkles and cracks, accustomed to the shovel and the hoe but not to a weapon....

'Outer Space Monitoring System' Service Examined

91UM0040A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Oct 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "A Bridle for the Nuclear 'Racers,' or What the Space Monitoring System Represents"]

[Text] **We are completing an article on strategic deterrence systems that are at the disposal of the USSR Armed Forces. (See KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of 27 September and 5 October.) Today's material is about the outer space monitoring system (SKKP).**

Colonel V. Nikolskiy pointed to an enormous bay with displays and multicolored screens—the command post of the space monitoring system. He says look and study.

"From here we see practically the entire moving cosmos," he explained.

I familiarize myself with what yesterday was an inaccessible and top secret facility. Dozens of questions crop up. First: Why do we need this very modern and expensive all-seeing eye?

Colonel G. Kovsh, chief of the department who was keeping up the conversation, answers one question after another: "Do you know how many objects there are in outer space? More than 7,000 have been counted, active and inactive satellites.... We are talking about those that are placed in orbit. All told there are more than 20,000 flying objects—outer space is cluttered. Out there a very ordinary needle is capable of piercing a spacecraft and causing trouble. But the problem is not in the number—not all space apparatuses are harmless...."

He showed a short chronicle of recent reports from abroad.

"16 July. Pakistan launched its first Earth satellite vehicle, weighing 50 kilograms, from Chinese territory. According to the announcement of the prime minister, this is 'an important event on the road to the technological modernization of Pakistan.'

"1 August. A missile whose electronic components were undergoing testing in the air for the 'Star Wars' program went off course and was destroyed on a command from Earth. The destruction command came from the White Sands test range (state of New Mexico).

"4 August. A Delta-2 rocket was launched from the space center on Cape Canaveral. Its main objective—to put a Navstar system satellite into orbit—pursuant to a Pentagon program...."

"Different, very different satellites are being put into orbit, and they simply are real dragons. Once outer space becomes more dangerous, then we must know everything," says Viktor Nikolskiy, "or almost everything about each apparatus and object. These tasks surfaced as early as the beginning of the 1960's, and they were prompted by the placement of satellites into orbit that had a military purpose."

Like every new program, the system for monitoring outer space was born as they say with birth pangs. The original provision of space object tracking was accomplished through information obtained by optical systems of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Air Defense Troops, with the use of plotting boards and individual programs.... But with the passage of time this became inadequate. Powerful radars of the missile attack warning and the antimissile defense systems were linked up in the tracking of objects. The streams of information were transformed into a real river that was full-flowing and rapid. The question arose as to the speedy and effective processing of information. And so in 1970 a space tracking center began to be created. N. Buslenko, G. Ryabov, and their colleagues performed a great service in this.

A kind of personal file is kept on each high-flying "traveler"—it contains the satellite's coordinates, its capabilities, and its "behavior". A catalog is constructed from this kind of personal data. When the task arises to take a closer look at one or another space wanderer—for example, the U.S. reconnaissance satellite Ferret-D—the catalog helps find its location area quickly, and only then do the tracking complexes "tell" where it is located and give its characteristics. With what kind of accuracy? They explained it to me. Imagine that two soccer balls are flying at a distance of 10 centimeters from each other. We will say that there are two balls in orbit, and not one. But this is a figurative comparison. There are also examples of specific work that attest to the professionalism of the collective.

September 1983. A South Korean Boeing-747 aircraft violated the state border of the USSR, intruded into our country, and was shot down by a Soviet fighter. People died, a tragedy occurred. The world had to be told who was responsible. The Soviet side presented evidence that the intrusion into our airspace was intentional. Perhaps the most convincing evidence was that presented by the space tracking center. The flight of the Boeing-747 was very carefully synchronized with the flight of a Ferret-D reconnaissance satellite. The space spy appeared over Chukotsk at 1845 on 1 September, and for a period of approximately 12 minutes it flew to the east of Kamchatka and the Kuril Islands, monitoring Soviet electronic systems which were working in the normal mode. In the next orbit, the Ferret-D appeared over Kamchatka at exactly the moment of the intrusion of the encroaching aircraft, fixing the activity of our communications and electronic systems which were changing the intensity of their work. In the end, it was established that the third orbit coincided with absolute accuracy with the following third stage of the Boeing-747 over Sakhalin. The data presented to the public showed: Such an exact coincidence of the flight of the reconnaissance aircraft and the spy satellite cannot be explained away as accidental.

Mistakes must not be made in such cases. A tremendous responsibility is placed on equipment, and most of all on people. Who are they, the "controllers" of outer space?

The operations duty officer is Colonel V. Minayev. He is 49 years of age, has completed a military school and a military academy, and is married and has children. He is from the Kharkov area. Lieutenant Colonel Ya. Tsymbalistyy, a member of the team, also comes from the Ukraine. "I also have a connection with the Ukraine," says Major N. Davydov. "I graduated from a military school there."

A lot can be told about each of them. Take Yaroslav Tsymbalistyy. He has been here since the beginning. He assembled the electronic apparatus of the automated control system—specialists from the manufacturing plant were amazed: Where did such knowledge come from, and such skill?—he studied it, and now he is operating it. He can say with complete justification: "my center."

"Competence is the main thing that characterizes the officers of the center. Other specialists 'do not survive here,'" said Colonel V. Nikolskiy. He talked with pride about the fact that this year alone 20 medalists came here from military schools. "Very high knowledge and solid skills are the main requirement for holding conversations with outer space. An aspiring person next to wonderful equipment cannot help but grow...."

Incidentally, this is understood very well in the higher educational institutions and in the scientific research institutes, and they eagerly invite officers who have worked well in the tracking center. They have more than one research work to their credit. Officers Yu. Gorobchuk, V. Zyubin, and M. Chernov recently defended their candidate dissertations.

"Is it difficult to be an officer in the SKKP?" I could not refrain from asking Minayev this banal question.

"Speaking for myself, it is difficult," he answered. "Today, the situation here is more or less quiet, but it is not always this way. For example, one of our tasks is to track space objects in the descent sector—we get precise information on the point of impact, and we issue information about this. And what are the satellites like now? There are those with nuclear equipment. When can they be expected? Where will the fragments fall...?"

Vladimir Minayev and his colleagues had occasion to worry some in the spring. It all started on the 8 March holiday. Four new fragments appeared in space. The analysis and data processing group reported: These are parts of a satellite that was put into orbit by the American spacecraft "Atlantis." It would seem it was nothing to worry about, but the object was not a simple one, and it was launched in the interests of the Pentagon—for visual and electronic intelligence, and its weight was 17 tons. Apparently the Americans blew it up because of defects. A precise answer had to be given: Where will the parts fall? Will they burn up completely in the atmosphere. The specialists did not err in their calculations. The first fragment burned up in the thick layers of the atmosphere on 19 March 1,500 kilometers to the north of Midway Island in the Pacific Ocean. They explained that the rest of the fragments do not represent a danger. Of course, their attention did not slacken until all of the fragments "died."

"There is also work with the manned spacecraft," explains Colonel Kovsh. "But we get involved only in an emergency situation. If an orbital station or a spacecraft is being guided, and close communication is being maintained with them, then here as the saying goes our job is on the sideline. But if a malfunction should occur, and the Mission Control Center 'loses' its envoys, then it cannot do without us...."

Grigoriy Kovsh showed TASS information appended to a file. "Several corrections in trajectory movement were made during the two-day automatic flight of the Soyuz T-13, as a result of which the spacecraft approached the Salyut-7 station at the prescribed distance. Further closing was executed by the crew manually with the use of a range determination apparatus and the onboard computer system." It was not reported then that Vladimir Dzhanibekov and Viktor Savinykh executed the docking with the silent station that was "lost" by Mission Control Center, and that they found it only with the data that was issued from here, from the space tracking center.

...Of course the collective does not live only with celestial distances. Here as in any garrison weddings are celebrated, apartments which are not in surplus are awaited impatiently, there is gossip about the shortage of commodities, there are holidays, and it is a blessing that the military facility is situated in a refreshing coniferous forest. But nevertheless, the main thing that determines everyone's mood is outer space, and more precisely monitoring it. When I tried to distract officers from discussions about work and to talk about everyday living matters, it did not always work out and they only steered away from the subject. They spoke with bitterness about the fact that frequently specialists from the space department took credit for the tracking center's work, and that they were being taken advantage of because of their secrecy. You see, no one else can spot falling fragments and pinpoint the coordinates of silent satellites....

Here in the tracking center they understand that the process of disarmament that has been started will not affect them—the outer space monitoring system will be needed even when there are no armies. The main concern is not to fall behind in the rapid exploration of outer space in order to secure their fellow citizens from various accidents. Indeed, the military danger from outer space has not been removed. On the days that I was in the tracking center, the Pentagon carried out a regular experiment in launching a powerful energy device within the framework of the "Star Wars" program. It appears that these warriors are assured this complex work for a long time. We will not shy away from giving credit to them for their unobtrusive work—so important and necessary in behalf of our security and peace—which for many years has been guarded by a curtain of secrecy.

Baltic Republics

Prunskiene Meets With Swedish Premier

LD1710210690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by ELTA special correspondents Kestutis Jankauskas and Arkadijus Vinokuras in Stockholm]

[Excerpts] Today the prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, Kazimiera Prunskiene, met Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, at the Rosenbad residence for roughly one-and-a-half hours.

The political situation in Lithuania following the adoption of the 11 March act restoring independence and relations with the Soviet Union and Russia were discussed.

Ingvar Carlsson noted that the relations between Sweden and Lithuania were expanding and the time has come to formalize them. Possibilities were discussed to set up interest bureaus. Cultural and scientific relations, and ecological programs in the region which will be rendered concrete in the meetings of Lithuanian and Swedish ministers were touched upon in general terms. It was stressed by the Swedish side that it supported the striving of the Baltic states to take part in Helsinki-Two.

After the meeting, Ingvar Carlsson and Kazimiera Prunskiene answered journalists' questions. [passage omitted] The Swedish side expressed great interest in the purity of the Baltic Sea. It was discussed what significant help (?in the form of consultations) Sweden could render to Lithuania on the work of the Ignalina nuclear power station, the purification installations in Kaunas, and the construction and functioning of other ecologically important objects.

There was also meetings with leaders of the Swedish Liberal Party [passage indistinct].

Nordic Council Delegation Visits Lithuania

LD1710190990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Nordic Council Delegation is in Vilnius attending its first meeting at the Supreme Council.

The meeting was opened by Deputy Virginijus Cepaitis, chairman of the Supreme Council Commission for Citizens' Rights and National Minorities.

[Begin Cepaitis recording] First of all, I would like to congratulate the Finnish representative because, 50 years ago, there existed four Baltic countries and only one of that number, the Finnish nation, has managed to defend its independence through armed resistance.

Bordering on that same Baltic Sea, we could only imagine during the course of all those years what life was like on the other side. But now we are returning once again to the European family, and those flags that are now displayed on the table fittingly symbolize that return. [end recording]

The guest delegation's leader, Mr Pal Petursson, stated:

[Begin Petursson recording in English] We are here as a delegation from the Nordic Council. We are here as a delegation from the Nordic Council going to... [changes thought] as a delegation of parliamentarians. We have been in Moscow as guests of the Supreme Soviet and now we are visiting all the three Baltic countries. We are parliamentarians in all these republics, and the main purpose of our visit is to establish some contacts with people And we are mainly going to discuss environmental questions and cultural questions and [word indistinct] ourselves [end recording].

The guest emphasized that although they do not have much time, they would like to become as well and as widely acquainted as possible with the work of the Lithuanian legislature and to experience some direct contact with the deputies.

The Nordic Council group hopes to establish closer ties for cooperation in the areas of culture and trade.

The talks were held in a sincere and [words indistinct]. Opinions were exchanged on deputy activities, and questions of interest were answered.

The Nordic Council legislators also met with the Supreme Council Presidium members.

Following the meeting at the Supreme Council, the Nordic Council delegation paid a visit to the Council of Ministers. They will hold a news conference.

The Nordic Council legislators depart for Riga this afternoon. Moreoever, a joint meeting of Baltic and Nordic countries is scheduled to take place in Tallinn at the end of the week.

Step Toward 'Recognition'

LD1710225190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2055 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Video report by Lithuanian Television correspondent S. Sondetskis; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The first official foreign delegation at such a high level has arrived in Lithuania. It is a delegation of legislators from the countries of the Nordic Council, headed by Pal Petursson, chairman of the presidium. In Vilnius today, the MPs from Scandinavian countries met with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, and held a conversation with Algirdas Brazauskas and Romualdas Ozolas, deputy prime ministers of the Lithuanian Republic. At the meetings in Vilnius there was discussion of specific opportunities for humanitarian aid, the institution of grants for young men and women from the Baltic states, the opening of an information office in Vilnius, and the organization of an air-link between the capitals of the Nordic Council states and the Baltic states. The first step has been taken towards de facto recognition of the Lithuanian Republic.

Lithuania Passes Law on Conscription Alternatives

LD1710190890 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council has adopted a law on an alternative to military service. According to this, citizens of the Republic of Lithuanian between the ages of 19 and 27 can choose alternative service if general military service is contrary to their conscience and (?convictions). [passage omitted]

Decree Enacts Lithuanian Joint-Stock Law

914A0012A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 1

["DECREE of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council: "Introduction of the Republic of Lithuania Law on Joint-Stock Companies"]

[Text] The Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council resolves:

1. To establish that the Republic of Lithuania Law on Joint-Stock Companies will take effect as of 1 August 1990.

2. To establish that prior to the Republic of Lithuania Law on Bankruptcy taking effect companies are deemed insolvent by the Republic of Lithuania Ministry of Finance or its appointed body.

3. To establish that prior to the Republic of Lithuania Law on Privatization taking effect, state-owned and state-cooperative enterprises, establishments and organizations, kolhozes and sovkhozes [collective and state farms], and other public or state-type cooperativized organizations may not be the founder or stockholder of a joint-stock company or limited joint-stock company.

4. To instruct the Republic of Lithuania Government:

to submit to the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council before 1 November of this year a draft securities act;

to issue prior to 1 November of this year standard stock forms and create the conditions for their acquisition by the joint-stock companies.

[Signed] V. LANDSBERGIS, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council.
[Dated] Vilnius, 30 June 1990.

Latvia Opposes Gorbachev Military Parade Decree

LD1710133190 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Galina Kuchina]

[Text] Riga October 17 TASS—The Latvian parliament has announced "null and void" on the republican territory the Soviet president's decree on staging a military parade in the capitals of Union republics and some other cities on November 7 to mark the socialist revolution.

The parliament said in a statement here that "the display of military might by the Soviet Army in Latvia on November 7 runs counter to the sovereignty of the Latvian Republic and aims to exacerbate the political situation."

As is known, the Latvian Supreme Soviet recently passed a law on holidays and festivals, which does not include the anniversary of the social revolution.

Latvian Communist Property Dispute Continues

PM1810075090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent O. Meshkov: "Without Reference to Laws"]

[Text] Riga—The question of the Latvian Communist Party's property is becoming increasingly exacerbated. Thus, the Jurmala city authorities demanded that the city party committee vacate the premises that it occupies, although this building was constructed on a shared basis [na dolevom uchastii].

The court of arbitration agreed with the decision of Jurmala City Soviet Executive Committee, but the Union court of arbitration revoked that decision as illegal. The Dobelskiy, Ogrskiy, Madonskiy, and certain other rayon soviets have adopted decisions on the confiscation of premises. No references are made to the laws here, and the decision to confiscate is simply adopted.

One more fact. On 27 September the republic Council of Ministers issued the resolution "On the Formation of the 'Latvian Newspaper and Magazine Publishing House' Joint-Stock Company" on the basis of the fixed capital and working capital of the Latvian publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee (the Latvian Republic is declared the holder of the controlling package of shares), and on 1 October it also issued instructions to close the party publishing house's account at the Latvian Social Development Bank.

PRAVDA has already written about the illegitimacy of that decision. In connection with the earlier adopted resolution of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, arguments were cited to substantiate the right of the Communist Party to be the owner of the Latvian party publishing house. Unfortunately, we have to return once again to this question in connection with the Latvian Council of Ministers resolution. The Latvian Communist Party Central Committee turned to a militia special-purpose detachment for assistance in protecting its property. Members of the detachment are in the House of the Press building to this day, which elicits a negative reaction from the collectives of the publishing house and certain editorial offices. At a meeting of the House of the Press United Council of Labor Collectives, it was stated that production of party publications would be stopped unless the "black berets" left the premises by 14 October.

Senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee have been to Riga. They had a meeting with representatives of the collectives at the House of the Press and had a thorough discussion of the situation which has taken shape. However, mutual understanding has not yet been reached.

Latvian Representative in Moscow Interviewed

91UN0051A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 40, 6 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with the poet Janis Peters, new permanent representative of the Republic of Latvia Council of Ministers in Moscow, by correspondent Edugard Govorushko; place and date not given: "It Is More Interesting for Me Being Permanent Representative in Moscow Than Paris"]

[Text] [Peters] First of all I would like, as they say, to present my credentials. I was made permanent representative of the Latvian Government at the personal request of our prime minister, Ivars Godmanis. I see as my mission the establishment of good-neighborly civilized relations between Latvia and the USSR, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], and sovereign republics, and in addition with other countries. Moscow, as a great capital on which the attention of the whole world community is currently concentrated, affords every opportunity for this.

[Govorushko] As far as I know, you turned down many flattering offers in the republic, but are you getting pleasure out of your work as permanent representative?

[Peters] Many languages have been and continue to be heard among my friends—people of all nationalities—in my home. However, recently the situation had become such that our peoples were attempting to move apart and turn aside from one another. But thank God we were able to stop in time, take an attentive look around, and realize that we are all quite likable people and that our history has much in common. We have now begun to move forward in a head-on direction. And this is natural because Latvia will always be where God created it—next to Russia. Our countries are not sailing ships that they might be borne by the wind to different sides of the sea of life. Time and political culture have shown that we are today capable of elaborating various models of interstate relations, and only time and our will will tell what form of political relationships we will arrive at. One thing is already clear: The impossibility of managing without economic integration in a common market. In a word, it is in Moscow today that I see the point of application of my efforts.

Another, no less important factor which prompted me to accept this position is my permanent love and respect for Russia, Russian culture, and Russian people. Among the Russian intelligentsia and ordinary Russian workers I feel very good, which it is true I cannot say about the milieu of the bureaucracy—regardless of whether it is Russian, Latvian, or any other. I proceeded also from the fact that a permanent representative, and this is akin to a diplomatic post, should work in a country or in a city which he likes. Had I been offered a choice between Moscow and Paris, I would have chosen Moscow.

[Govorushko] I see in your arguments an entirely unconcealed optimism concerning future relations between such countries as Latvia and the USSR, however difficult it might be getting used to such terminology. On what is it based? After all, de jure relations are as yet at an impasse. As far as I know, the declaration on the independence of the Republic of Latvia of 4 May 1990 has not been and hardly will be reversed, nor has the edict of the USSR president rejecting this act. Or do you see some appreciable shifts in the political relations between Latvia and the Union authorities?

[Peters] We are constructing and will continue to construct political relations with the USSR and the sovereign republics on the basis of the declaration of independence adopted by the legislature of our republic, which as you know provides for a transitional period up to the restoration of an independent state de facto. It is not entirely clear to me what is concealed behind the "transitional period" concept, it is true. Nor I believe is it entirely clear to the leaders of the republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, and naturally the central government. How long this period will last, what may be achieved in this time, it is hard to foresee: Each day brings new winds of a political and economic nature.

In the draft political agreement which is currently being made ready for signing with the RSFSR, we are raising the question of recognition of the full sovereignty and complete independence of the Republic of Latvia. We are professing the same principle in the preparation of an agreement with the USSR. Our strategic task is to seek to ensure that the USSR Government not impede Latvia in its formation as a subject of international law. The drafts of both agreements stipulate here that the problems of borders, defense, customs, transit, and other questions of interest to both parties may be discussed separately. In a word, if we are acknowledged to be an equal partner and subject of international law, we are prepared for negotiations on this form of agreement or the other. Meanwhile, in accordance with a decision of the Baltic Council, Latvia, like Lithuania and Estonia, is not participating in the preparation of the Union treaty.

I have to say that I see more and more understanding of our position on the part of the central authorities. I am a member of the delegation at the negotiations with the USSR and the RSFSR. And I can say that at the last meeting in the Kremlin with Revenko, member of the Presidential Council, and Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, no one took issue with Latvia's independence. And it was even emphasized that the representatives of the Union leadership were not opposed to independence and that the negotiations would be conducted between two equal parties. I see this as a change in the position of the center, which means objectively support for Latvia's democratically elected legislature and its government. I believe that this will have a favorable effect on the social and political situation in the republic.

[Govorushko] I would like you to describe in more detail the social and political situation in the republic and the attitude toward the legislature and government on the part of various groups of the population. Are you sure of the stability of the situation and that there will be no refugees from Latvia?

[Peters] As you have noticed, I am truly an optimist. Fortunately, the standards of political struggle have not been lost in our multinational republic, and we are learning with increasing success to listen to and understand one another. I see with satisfaction that an ever increasing part of the nonindigenous population of Latvia is beginning to understand Latvians' aspirations, whence the greater understanding for the policy of the Latvian Popular Front and the legislative majority and government. There is currently among the Russian-speaking population a considerable stratum of people whom we could call patriots of Latvia. It may already be said that the "Latvian people" concept implies not only Latvians. The Latvian people is an entirely real multinational community with common ideas and common aims and prospects. I am sure this process will intensify, although we cannot either remain silent about the fact that there are people, as a rule from the ranks of those who came to the republic only in recent years, who regard the process of national revival with a certain degree of suspicion. I am sure that a mass departure is not foreseen and that there will be no refugees from Latvia. Even now elderly people, whose children have long lived outside, are leaving Latvia. Those who are dissatisfied with the state of its economy and social conditions are leaving Latvia too. Although I have to say that, granted all our economic difficulties, life in Latvia is for all that more propitious than in certain other regions of the country. The republic government is now adopting serious measures to stabilize the economy, and I am sure that real results will soon emerge.

In my view, the government is enjoying the ever increasing trust of the population of the republic. At a recent festival of song I myself heard people chanting: "Long live the government!" and not to the dictation of an official prompter, as was the case before, what is more. We perceive this trust as a kind of advance payment. An advance is a good thing, but the problems facing the government are also innumerable, so the least mistake could lead to a loss of trust. The same set of problems is confronting the legislature also, but for the deputies it is easier: It has long been known that it is easier to pass laws than assume the responsibility for their fulfillment. Now words must be buttressed by deeds, we need to work.

Truly centrist forces and thinking and responsible people have come to power in the republic, although there are also exceptions also of course. I am really confident that in the interests of progress and democracy both the government and the legislature need the support of all inhabitants of the republic, regardless of national affiliation. By this same principle, I hope the ideas of the Latvian legislature should meet with understanding in the USSR Supreme Soviet. After all, only authorities that have been elected democratically may serve as a guarantee of democratic transformations in the republic and a guarantee of its practical partnership with the USSR, if, in accordance with the good will of both parties, it develops on a parity basis. Judging by the present situation and the pretensions to power on the part of the Congress of Citizens and the citizens' committees and also other informal movements and groups, it is clear that the likely alternative to the present center government and legislature of the republic is unfortunately more radical and less democratic authorities. Critics of the legislature and the government from right and left are appealing to various strata, but the main address is the Russian-speaking population. The Latvian Popular Front, the deputies and members of the government from the majority faction would like to see in the latter as many friends as possible, but there are forces sowing mistrust and fear. This is why mass meetings and demonstrations and countermeetings and counterdemonstrations are still being organized in our republic from time to time. But I am sure that the time of such "assertiveness" is passing. Real multiparty conditions and the possibility of openly expressing one's views in legislature and the soviets and in the innumerable newspapers and journals are affording an opportunity for the real and consistent formation of political standards.

[Govorushko] However, a certain degree of distrust of the official power structures is an element of political standards also. We put too much trust in former governments and the party, and bitter experience has taught people to be more guarded. I am sure that among many representatives of the indigenous nation also there are doubts as to the fruitfulness of the new government, the more so in that it contains people who have yet to prove their competence. If trust is generally more often won not by word but by deed, this is doubly true it seems to me in respect of the Russian-speaking population. We cannot campaign for human rights in words but in deeds ensure the priority of one nation. Many people are now awaiting the discussion in the legislature of the draft citizenship law. As you know, there are different versions there, including one stipulating the right to citizenship only for those who had such prior to 1940 and their descendants. I realize that it is not now possible to forecast the result of the discussion in the legislature, but for which version would you vote?

[Peters] The demographic situation in Latvia is such that the indigenous nation is still threatened with assimilation and could be a minority on its own territory. It is far from a matter of indifference to me, naturally, as to the deputies and movements which are defending the version of the draft you have mentioned. But having weighed all the pros and cons, I would of course vote for the so-called zero option because it is the most democratic. In my view, all people who live in Latvia currently and wish to obtain citizenship of the republic have the right to this.

I am sure that only entirely democratic statehood can save Latvia and the Latvian nation. I am excited far more by democratic Latvia than independence as an end in itself, at any price. Undoubtedly, I am for the republic's independence. But I am sure that genuine independence, independence of which we may be proud, may be achieved only by democratic methods and that if we disregard them an independent Ceausescu or Pinochet republic could perfectly well result. I would like to hope that a majority of deputies in our legislature agrees with me. In this event, we would be making far more fruitful and consistent progress in the economic and political restoration of the state.

[Govorushko] You are a people's deputy of the USSR and a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As you know, Lithuania has recalled its deputies from the Supreme Soviet. What is your viewpoint on this score? Are your duties as permanent representative of an independent republic in Moscow compatible with work in the Union legislature?

[Peters] Yes, it is on the surface illogical that a citizen of an independent country is the deputy of the legislature of another independent country. But we have so many such contradictions that this is not the most dreadful: The de jure independent republic does not as yet have its own generally recognized borders, national currency, army, independent foreign policy, and so forth. Independence is a process, and in advocating it it is illogical to renounce participation in work on its acquisition. My opinion on this score is as follows: I and my comrades were elected by the people, perfectly democratically, and the Popular Front fought for us. The USSR legislature is a forum of world dimensions to which the attention of the whole world, the world political community, and the world press is drawn. I am sure that it would now be a big mistake for us to abandon work in this forum and the defense there of the interests of our and other republics. That we need to get together and discuss the question of tactics is another matter: Do we need to take part in the discussion of all issues or abstain when some are being considered? But while a transitional period is in effect and while democratically elected legislatures of sovereign republics, the RSFSR included, are coming into being, we should take our seats in the Union legislature, work there, and monitor the situation. And further, as long as we are working there we have more opportunities to speak with the world, so the interests of the permanent representative and the deputy coincide here, as you can see. And it cannot be ruled out that the USSR legislature will subsequently become a different model, more acceptable to us, something like the Europarliament.

[Govorushko] Do the majority of deputies from Latvia support this viewpoint?

[Peters] To be honest, I have not had time to check, although I know that the majority of commonsensical deputies supports it. It is perfectly possible that I will be criticized. But everyone is free to think and decide for himself. It should be borne in mind here that our place could perfectly well be taken by other people also with a position which is wholly unacceptable for independence.

[Govorushko] What do you think, will there be a change in the near future in the status of the permanent mission of the Republic of Latvia Council of Ministers in Moscow? In short, will the present mission not become the first Latvian embassy? What new things have there been and will there be in the activity of the permanent mission in the immediate future?

[Peters] Frankly I suffer from no complexes concerning the present and future status of the permanent mission. As permanent representative, I am subordinate directly to the premier. Our work volume and staff also are far more extensive than in many embassies. We maintain relations with the governments of the USSR, Russia, and other Union republics; with the embassies of foreign countries; with foreign and joint companies; and also with the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations. Incidentally, I recently obtained there the allocation of 750,000 foreign currency rubles for completion of the construction of purification installations for Riga. In a word, the permanent mission is a structure of the Latvian Government contributing to the implementation of both its economic ideology addressed to the USSR and its sovereign policy line.

We are currently working on a revival of the Latvian community in Moscow, that which was smashed by Stalin in the 1930's. We are conducting negotiations with the Moscow City Soviet on the return of former premises at 8 Strastnyy Avenue where the Latvian "Skatuve" ("Stage") Theater was once housed. The Latvian cultural center in Moscow will operate there. We intend to restore also the Lutheran congregation in Moscow for which we will lease the premises of a former Lutheran church.

We are studying the possibilities of the creation of a Latvian school at the permanent mission and ascertaining the number of those wishing to attend. It will be different here from the Latvian school in Riga. We will take as the model the Latvian high school in Muenster. Not only Latvian language and culture, but also German and German culture and English are studied in depth there. Accordingly, we will devote much time and attention to a fundamental study of Russian and Russian culture. This idea already has the support of Andris Piebalgs, our minister of public education.

We will also have a press attache, however pretentious this sounds, and a press center. Correspondents of the new government newspaper DIYENA (The Day) and republic radio and television will be accredited at the permanent mission. The republic Ministry of Internal Affairs is proposing accrediting its representative at the permanent mission also—crime unfortunately is becoming internationalized at a faster pace than policy, and the interaction of the law enforcement authorities is now simply essential. In a word, we are trying to ensure that the permanent mission become a main link in the relations of our countries and the republics. And when Latvia becomes a full subject of international law, the permanent mission will become an embassy of the independent Republic of Latvia de facto.

[Govorushko] Given this workload, what happens to artistic creativity?

[Peters] Poetry is as yet awaiting a more propitious moment. Raimonds Pauls incidentally, who also as minister does not have the time for artistic creativity, recently sent me several of his new melodies, charging me with writing the verses. It would now be sinful of me not to find the time....

Estonian Supreme Soviet Rejects Holidays Decree

LD1710205290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 17 Oct (TASS)—The Estonian Supreme Soviet has rejected a decree of the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet on Estonia's state holidays.

The deputies' censure was prompted in particular by the decree's provision for the Christmas festival on 25 and 26 December, in accordance with the Lutheran Church calendar. Although the population of Estonia has never been noted for being particularly religious, nonetheless there are many representatives of other confessions living in it. As was noted at the session, in its present form the decree does not guarantee them equal freedom with the evangelical Lutherans to celebrate their religious ceremonies.

In accordance with the abovementioned decree, Independence Day on 24 February, Victory Day on 23 June, and the international workers holiday on 1 May were declared state holidays. The first two dates are connected with the history of the Estonian Republic. It was proposed to celebrate 16 November as the date of its rebirth. It was on that date in 1988 that the declaration of sovereignty was adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and the supremacy of Estonian laws over Union laws on its own territory was declared.

This last proposal was met with disapproval by a number of deputies. Supporters of the legal succession of the bourgeois republic viewed the attempt to establish a new holiday as a departure from the principle of legal succession and of the restoration of the independent Estonian state which existed until 1940.

Estonia's new holiday calendar omits the day of the Great October Socialist Revolution on 7 November and the day of the USSR's victory in the Great Patriotic War on 9 May, which are widely marked in the USSR. It is proposed to mark 9 May in Estonia as Peace Day. This too was opposed by some deputies, however. These deputies are inclined to consider Estonia as a "losing side" as, according to them, the victory over Hitlerite Germany allegedly "only consolidated the occupation and annexation of Estonia by the USSR. Moreover, Estonian legislators consider that 8 May should be considered as the day the war ended because, in accordance with Central European time, the signing of the act on the total and unconditional capitulation of the Hitlerite Reich took place precisely on that day. Estonia now has its own time which differs by one hour from Moscow time.

Estonians Protest 'Economic Border' Proposal

PM1710162190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by N. Maandi: "Narva: Does It Divide or Unite?"]

[Text] Narva, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic—There were flowers, flags, placards, and numerous posters in the hands of those who came to Narva's Petrovskaya Square and music played. A holiday? No. People had gathered for a meeting of solidarity against the proposed establishment of an "economic border between Estonia and the Soviet Union."

Some 30 minutes before the meeting I crossed the bridge over the Narva. Here too there were excited people, but I could see an elderly woman in tears. Mariya Ivanovna and Anatoliy Pavlovich Mikheyev live in Narva and were on their way now to Ivangorod to visit their small daughter's grave.

"Can you imagine, the border will be along this bridge? How shall I get to my little daughter?" Mariya Ivanovna exclaimed. "I lived all my live in Ivan-gorod and worked at the 'Parusinka' and in 1973 I moved to Narva. My husband still workers in Ivangorod."

The chain of friendship extended across the bridge joining Narva and Ivangorod, Estonia, and Russia. Nearby stood Valeriy Alekseyevich Domnin and his son Alesha—he is from Ivangorod, incidentally, and goes to boxing classes at the Narva vocational and technical college—pensioner Anna Pavlovna Fedorova and her daughter Nadezhda and two grandsons, Serezha and Sasha—they came here from Kingisepp—and Zinaida Grigoryevna Semenchenko, a worker at the Tallinn sanitary epidemic station. Over 500 people came from Tallinn to the solidarity meeting.

This meeting is the response to the Estonian Supreme Soviet's latest attempt to adopt a law "on the economic border." The Estonian leadership explains this step by the need to defend the internal market and to struggle against immigration and crime. In fact it is a case of closing the state border between Estonia and Russia.

Deputies expressing the interests of the republic's national minority opposed the draft law on the border in the Supreme Soviet. But their voice was not heeded. Then a group of deputies went to Moscow. B. Lebedev, chairman of the Estonian interregional council, spoke at a plenary session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet against the establishment of a so-called economic border. In response in an official statement the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium called several elements of this speech an act of political provocation.

But what provocation can there be if the inhabitants of the entire Northeast of Estonia and adjacent Russian territories have risen to oppose these borders. On 4 October the fifth session of the Narva City Soviet—and on 11 October at a joint session of the Narva, Sillamyae, Kokhtla-Yarva (Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic) and Ivangorod, Kingisepp, and Slantsy (RSFSR) city soviets—deputies not only condemned the idea of establishing an economic border but also adopted a decision "to embark on the creation of a single self-managing economic region."

I shall be sinning against the truth if I say that there were no people on the square who supported the draft law "on the economic border."

In conclusion, an appeal was adopted from the participants in the meeting to the inhabitants of Estonia, Russia, and the other Union republics which ends like this: "We say 'no' to a policy and borders which divide peoples, relations, and friends!"

And I, an inhabitant of Tallinn, in describing the meeting in Narva also append my signature to this appeal.

Estonian Interregional Deputies Council Meets

91UN0046B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Sep 90 p 2

[Article by R. Baleva: "The Decrees Have Been Adopted. What Next?]

[Text] As already reported, on 14 September in Sillamyae in the Palace of Culture imeni S.M. Kirov, there was a session of the interregional council of people's deputies and delegates of labor collectives of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. This council was created on 26 May in Kokhtla-Yarva at the congress of deputies of all levels who hold positions in favor of unity of the federation. The proclaimed purpose of the creation of the council was "to protect the rights and dignity of all the population of the republic." Its executive organ was also elected—the Council of the National Economy (Sovnarkhoz); organizational questions related to the structure of the new organ were resolved; and an appeal to the First Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Congress of People's Deputies and a declaration of civil peace were also adopted.

During the three months that have passed since that time a great deal has changed in the political and economic life of the country and republic. What did the deputies of the interregional council bring to practically their first session?

The main thing at the session, in my view, was the consideration and adoption of a program of actions for the interregional council. Reports on this question were given by the chairman, V. Lebedev, and the chairman of the chamber of workers, A. Say.

In his report, having described the present situation, Lebedev discussed the goals of the program and again affirmed the unwavering desire of the deputies of the council to achieve observance of equal rights of all residents of the republic, regardless of their nationality, and the priority of general human values over national ones.

"...Within the framework of the transition period in Estonia," he said, "attempts will be made to form new organs of state power. Everything is proceeding toward creating conditions in which the republic Supreme Soviet and the State Duma will be formed only from citizens of the Estonian Republic and their descendants. ...Thus a large part of the residents of Estonia will be excluded from participation in elections and the possibilities of influencing the political life of the republic."

In addition to political issues, Lebedev touched upon issues of the economy. He said that when changing over to a market economy the Estonian Government intends to use the shock therapy of a rapid rise in prices which, alas, not everyone will survive since no program of compensation has been developed yet.

He devoted special attention to the position of Estonian enterprises in the system of regional association where, he thinks, large possibilities are opening up, in particular "in providing for the needs of the republic agroindustrial complex for spare parts and batching materials and obtaining raw and processed materials for the development of the social sphere...." He also discussed the principles of the new Union treaty.

Say, who spoke next, familiarized the audience with the main points of the concept of social protection of the population under the conditions of transition to a regulated market economy. Here are some of the concrete points of this concept:

To create a labor placement service where they will keep track of vacant positions and the creation of new productions using the specialties of people who are without work. At first they may use cards but then there will be a computerized system with a data bank of jobs in all enterprises that support the association;

To provide social protection for deputies who are delegates to the interregional council, particularly to think through

the question of paying for nonworking days during the time of the session, work in collectives, commissions, and committees, and so forth;

The decline of the standard of living of the workers and all those who have no income except for wages is an irrefutable fact today. Enterprises under republic jurisdiction have prepared for this and increased the average wages of their workers and employees to 450 rubles [R]. In this connection it was suggested that the Union enterprises consider in the labor collective councils their reserves and possibilities of raising wages at least to the level of the enterprise under republic jurisdiction.

The interregional council is to suggest that the association, in conjunction with the trade unions and the United Council of Labor Collectives, study the question of patronage of schools and kindergartens in order to compensate for the increased costs of food in the schools (R25-30) and kindergartens (up to R60);

The situation dictates abandoning the practice of supplying goods for cultural and domestic purposes through republic trade bases from where they vanish into the hands of cooperators and speculators. We need direct supply through the association and its enterprises. Moreover, we must not forget about the pensioners;

In connection with the forthcoming introduction of the 25-year qualification for providing housing and the discriminatory decree on limiting residency permits, it should be suggested to the enterprises and organizations doing construction work that they not place the housing under the jurisdiction of the local soviets.

At the session they approved the members of the delegations for negotiations with the USSR, RSFSR, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, the Leningrad Soviet, Moscow Soviet, the northwest of the RSFSR, and the Soyuz group. In negotiations with the USSR it suggests that in the near future they discuss questions of citizenship and forced migration; the status of the refugee; protection of the rights of USSR citizens in Estonia; and also property, taxation, price setting, privatization, pension support, public health, and culture.

The deputies adopted the declaration "On Assessing the Legislative Acts Adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th and 12th Convocations," stating that they were not in line with international agreements in the area of human rights and the USSR Constitution. The interregional council stated that until a Union treaty is concluded and a new constitution is adopted, it is not subject to those legislative acts that were adopted in the Estonian Republic in violation of the existing USSR Constitution.

In my view it was important that the session considered the regulation "On Referendum in the Estonian SSR." The Council of Elders was instructed to take it to the republic Supreme Soviet. There is no need to list all the articles of this regulation now. Tallinn residents may look it over in the deputy room at Ulitsa Rakhvakokhtu, 1. It is planned to discuss the draft of this regulation extensively in the labor collectives. I shall give only the key points of the regulation.

All citizens of the Estonian SSR who have reached the age of 16 and are living on the territory of the republic have the right to participate in a republic referendum. Any restriction of this right is prohibited except for cases of incompetence and also punishment confinement in corrections facilities. All citizens participate in the referendum with equal rights through a secret vote. The republic Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has the right to schedule a referendum on its own initiative or through a joint proposal of no less than two-thirds of the city soviets of cities under republic jurisdiction or with a petition from citizens signed by no less than 30,000 residents of the republic. Correspondingly, the local soviet of people's deputies has the right to schedule a local referendum on its own initiative or with a request from the citizens of the corresponding region or city that is signed by no less than 10 percent of the residents. I shall also just remind the readers again that a referendum is a popular vote conducted to determine and take into account the will of the people in connection with adopting either a new constitution or other basic laws or making changes in them.

The session adopted a decree on permanent commissions of the interregional council for political questions, legal questions, economic and social development, regulations, and the status of the deputy and delegate to the interregional council. The deputies also discussed questions of staff schedule, estimates of the expenditures of the interregional council, and several other things.

Members of the supreme soviets of Lithuania and the Russian Federation; guests from Leningrad and Pskov Oblasts; and also the Estonian Republic minister for interethnic relations, Artur Kuznetsov, also participated in the work of the session.

In keeping with the plan of the organizers, the session was conceived as a search for a way out of the crisis of our republic's political and economic condition today. I have tried to reflect this search as objectively as possible. And it is for the reader to judge how successful its participants have been.

Estonian Ban on Independence Party Criticized

91UN0048A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Sep 90 p 3

[Letter from Jaak Allik, member of the Communist Party of Estonia Bureau, to Lagle Parek, chairman of the Estonian National Independence Party]

[Text] Dear Lagle Parek,

At its recent general assembly your party decided to seek to have my party banned. I deemed it necessary in this connection to address to you, as in my opinion a man of honesty and principle, certain thoughts and questions.

It seems to me that we have similar characters in a sense, namely neither of us would like to end our political activity owing to an outside ban. And for this reason I consider it my duty to inform you that if you succeed in realizing your program, I, together with those of like mind, will be forced to operate secretly, and taking advantage of the previous experience of legal activity of the Communist Party of Estonia and also the more recent experience of the Estonian National Independence Party, continue my work. Not of course for the purpose of building a mythical communism, which the Communist Party of Estonia has in its program renounced, but in the name of a democratic, pluralist, and tolerant Estonia in which a person is not persecuted for his beliefs and attempts are not made to ban this idea and political current or the other. In a word, against that in which the Communist Party was involved in the past and in order that a truly nationally independent and free Estonian state emerge. That is, for the same principles which were upheld in its clandestine activity by the Estonian National Independence Party. Now, when you hold your congress beneath spotlights in the palace on Sakala Street and demand there a ban on dissidence—or does a spirit of intolerance lurk in the walls of this house?—someone should after all assume your past mission, and it looks like this will be the lot of the party which is banned.

Inasmuch as any ban presupposes punishment, I would like to know what awaits me in your state for my philosophy? One member of your party promised to take away from my friend Kalyu Komissarov the right to work in the Republic of Estonia if the latter failed to register his citizenship. Must I come to terms with the fact that I could be executed, as was the case with the young man from Vilyandimaa, Yaan Tomp, a member of the first and second Estonian State Duma and representative of the Central Council of Estonian Trade Unions; or sentenced to hard labor for life like Khendrik Allik, the 23-year-old member of the Estonian State Duma and veteran of the war of liberation. Such punitive measures were applied in respect of young politicians who had been elected to parliament democratically, applied by no means in Latin America but in the peaceful Republic of Estonia. Or will matters be confined to a term of 25 years plus five, which was given my father by Stalin's "court" for abiding by communist ideals, specifically for protesting the annexation of Pechorskiy District in favor of Russia. I hope from the bottom of my heart that in selecting my punishment you will not exceed the terms of two to 10 years which were determined for you and your associates by imperious officials of the period of stagnation for honest and bold defense of your particular views. However, it is not a question of the extent of the punishment. You are well aware that bans and punishments do not stop political activity but make it more fanatical. But I am personally convinced, and I hope that you share this conviction, that giving birth in Estonia to new political fanatics is entirely pointless. Please take such a start as black humor, but in all seriousness, it cannot be forgotten that the introduction in full of the principle of the legal succession of the Republic of Estonia would mean in reality a ban on the Communist Party, and subsequently all the rest, and hundreds of Communists sentenced to hard labor—which however did not prevent the assumption of power for a whole 45 years by precisely this party. Let us try henceforward to refrain from parallels and attempt to analyze the question in a businesslike manner.

You wish to equate communism and Nazism and declare the Communist Party of Estonia a criminal organization which practiced genocide in respect of the Estonian people. Viewing today's Estonia impartially and evaluating the level of its education, science, and culture, I feel awkward employing this word under our conditions and I feel ashamed before the peoples that really were the victims of genocide both in the USSR and other parts of the world. No one in Estonia was killed or deported merely because he was an Estonian. And let us acknowledge that there were a sufficient number of Estonians also among those who did the killing and deporting. The victims included, incidentally, many Communists. In fact, the phenomenon which occurred in Estonia was far more insidious than genocide. What happened here was a class struggle in its most primitive and brutal form based on hatred, envy, and vengeance. And aside from objective economic factors, a class struggle has social and psychological roots also. And until we drag them out into the light of day, we will be hiding in the shadows of the word "genocide," which explains nothing in this case. And this phenomenon will be repeated in our history, under a different name perhaps.

Assuming power with the aid of foreign forces, in 1940 the Estonian Communists began to embody their idea of a just arrangement of the world. But they had spent practically the whole short history of the Republic of Estonia and a considerable part of their lives in prison. And in fact, their actions merged into vengeance against the strata of society, organizations, and individuals who in the times of the Republic of Estonia had been in power or close to it, who had lived prosperously, and who had operated more successfully than the other part of the population. They had begun to implement in practice the line of "The International": "The earth shall rise on new foundations, we have been nought, we shall be all." And this aspiration of a handful of committed Bolsheviks, whose feelings may be understood but on no account excused, was most readily supported by a large number of people who in the days of the Republic of Estonia and on account of their own indolence, slackness, unfamiliarity with intelligent and difficult labor, and lack of education, were "nought." Simply put, lumpen. These people, in the grip of a thirst for power, embarked on the destruction of all structures which had existed hitherto. Such activity had been inspired by Stalin's theory of class struggle and the implantation from outside of a repressive machinery of planned management, and it was promoted by many so-called Russian Estonians who had come to the historical motherland without a knowledge of its customs, without an idea of its actual position, and frequently without the language and with a very primitive understanding of the process of historical development. After all, savage punishment had already been meted out by this time to considerable numbers of the Estonian intelligentsia and the leadership of the Communist Party of Estonia who were in Russia.

Dear Mr. Parek, I believe that the main danger lying in wait for your party is by no means the existence of my party but that same social and psychological process which formerly so disgraced the Communist Party. But our parties aside, it is far more important whether the Estonian people will once again undergo the rejection from social life of a considerable number of experienced, active people. Just a year ago 110,000 of your compatriots belonged to a party which you today wish to declare criminal. Together with their families, this constitutes approximately 400,000 Estonian landsmen and at least one-fourth of the entire Estonian people. And merely on account of their age one-fourth of them can in no way be held responsible for what occurred 40-50 years ago. What would you gain by declaring these people criminals? You will say possibly that it is not each individual member of the party that is guilty but the organization as a whole with its ideology. There is simply not the space in this letter for a debate on the source principles of communist ideology. I will say merely that these ideas were conceived thousands of years prior to the bloody Bolshevik experiment and their distorted embodiment in Russia, in which many Estonian Bolsheviks desiring in fact an entirely different "better future" for their people came to be involved. A similar fate has befallen other ideologies advanced by mankind down the ages. No one can ban a way of thinking. As far as declaring criminal a whole organization is concerned, it is the other side of the coin that troubles me. Namely, given such a simplistic approach, would there not be a convenient opportunity left for certain individuals to sit it out in the shadows of the "guilty" party? After all, it is with the hope of this that so many former soviet and party officials, among whom there are people who are really guilty before the people and who have things of which to cleanse themselves, have left the Communist Party of late. They are hoping by this simplest of steps (with your assistance?) to obtain absolution. You could not have failed to have noticed that many of those who for decades served the party in faith and truth have now suddenly become its most active opponents. In truth, in our political culture there is neither the concept of "guilt" nor the concept of "honor." I believe that our opinions agree on this matter. The preaching of collective guilt in reality means deliverance from personal responsibility and excuse of the crime. I am convinced that each person should himself be responsible for his actions just as for his inaction. And I can assure you that today's leadership of the Communist Party of Estonia is no less interested than yours in ascertaining the guilt of former and present members of the Communist Party. In confirmation of this E.-A. Sillari offered specific cooperation with the Estonian Citizens Committee, and we are prepared to embark on it immediately.

I have not quit the Communist Party precisely because I do not feel a guilt which may be expiated only by a change of skin. And in addition, I have no desire, as M. Laar aptly put it, to make good in one party twice: first by having joined it and then by leaving it. I do not know in respect of myself of a single act or statement which could now be attributed to party coercion. And I therefore make so bold as to maintain that all who are in this way excusing their unseemly conduct—in the past 20 years, at least—are using this to cover merely their cowardice or careerism. Yes, both I and my generation are guilty of silence in connection with Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan and the fact that we tolerated the rule of such people as Brezhnev and Vayno. We are to blame for not having protested the punitive measures to which you and your fellow thinkers were subjected. But this blame also needs to be shared and evaluated depending on the actual activity of each individual. There were in the Communist Party politicians who did not take part in lies and violence, and there were even more among the manager Communists of those who by their specific actions opposed the colonization of Estonia, and among the scientific and lecturer intelligentsia, thanks to whom the Estonian language and the Estonian way of thought have been preserved to this day. But this is a separate subject. In my view it is only possible to speak, however, about the guilt of a whole party, in the depths of which, as we can now see after a thorough political and historical analysis, there were in practice four or five parties. But you, imperceptibly to yourself, are offering the Communist Party the simplest way to expiate its guilt! Let us quit it, ban it, and that will be an end of the matter. But it is not for nothing that it is said that everyone has his own cross to bear. And the sole, genuine expiation would be finally compelling this party to work for the good of Estonia and defend its genuine interests. Having once joined the Communist Party of Estonia, I consider myself responsible for its activity as long as it exists. And if this party were once again to embark upon a struggle for alien goals, enjoying here the material values, structures, and ties created with my participation also, I could not use as an excuse the fact that I had left it in good time. The flight to which you are calling us would mean leaving the field of battle to robbers.

Today's Communist Party of Estonia has declared as its program goal the re-creation of a politically independent Republic of Estonia with regard for the principle of legal succession. We believe that as of the present time we have the opportunities and resources to fruitfully assist the accomplishment of this goal uniting the Estonian people. The Estonian National Independence Party is with all the means and methods available to it seeking the same goal, and we will treat your activity with respect if it is of benefit to the cause. As far as the existence of the Communist Party of Estonia in a sovereign Estonia is concerned, the Estonian state needs in my view a ponderable and broad political wing of the left, and I believe that the Communist Party will develop into such. But let this question, as also the question of the transfer of party property to the people, be decided by the members of the Communist Party of Estonia themselves. And have faith that we will decide it without summoning assault forces and without "nationalization" and other extremes, in such a way that the Estonian people are satisfied with our actions.

It is particularly regrettable in the light of what has been said that in an endeavor to save the world from communism you and your sympathizers chose as the target of your attack in northeast Estonia the Ida-Virumaaskiy Communist Party of Estonia Committee headed by the Izhorskiy Plant worker Nina Mikheyeva. It is in this region that the Communist Party of Estonia is performing a particularly important positive mission, and believe me this woman has in recent years done for Estonia far more than the majority of your or my party associates. Unfortunately this fact testifies that your intentions are aimed not so much at removing the "hand of Moscow" as at a direct split between Estonians and non-Estonians sharing our position and the awakening of mistrust and enmity at so decisive a moment for our people.

I am sorry that in adopting its program document the Estonian National Independence Party did not avail itself of the opportunity to display nobility and to break the chain of mutual vengeance and hostility. And I cannot feel grateful that you have left my party an opportunity to do so at the next swing of the pendulum, for another period of fluctuation could bring new sufferings, and as always mainly for totally innocent people, and consequently engender new hatred and thirst for vengeance.

With sincere respect for your personal purposefulness and courage and still with hope of cooperation in matters contributing to the acquisition of Estonia's sovereignty,

[Signed] Jaak Allik, member of the Communist Party of Estonia Bureau.

From the editors: This letter was published the day before yesterday in the newspaper PAEVALEHT. We considered it expedient to acquaint our readers with it in order that they might have an opportunity to gain a better idea of the kind of keen ideological struggle that is currently underway in the Estonian part of society and of the form it is taking.

Estonian Social Democrats Congress Viewed

91UN0046C Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 11 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Article by A. Podvezko: "Cards on the Table"]

[Text] **"Our society is moving 'to the right.' But capitalism is not a panacea for all of our problems. We must join forces in achieving democracy and social justice and thus keep the development of the Estonian society in balance...," decided the republic's Social Democrats.**

And then, on 8 September in Tallinn, there was a joint congress. There were 133 members of the Social Democratic Party for Estonian Independence (SDPNE), 66 members of the Democratic Labor Party (DPT), and 44 members of the Russian Social Democratic Party of Estonia (RSDP) who created a united party—the Social Democratic Party of Estonia.

That was 250 people, give or take a few, to achieve the goals the party set for itself: protection of the interests of workers and consumers. It is difficult to say now. In any case, our previous experience in sociopolitical life has shown that the party's influence and authority are not determined by the number of members it has. But let us return to the founding congress of the Social Democratic Party.

It was unusually organized and brief, and there were no unnecessary words. It was even boring to the outside observer. During the seven hours they worked, the delegates adopted a declaration on the association, discussed and adopted regulations and a program as well as other documents, and elected the management organs.

The "quietude" of the congress is explained not only by the common ideological base of the three parties and the lack of serious political differences, but also by the painstaking preliminary work during the course of which they agreed upon the basic documents and handed out party posts. All the congress delegates had to do was approve all of this, which they did, and as I have already said without superfluous debate. During the course of the preliminary work, as the chairman of the DPT Vello Saatpalu noted, "although there were differences, the attraction to unification turned out to be stronger."

A couple of words about the new party. As it says in its statutes, the SDPE is a left-center social organization. (This definition of the position of the SDPE in the alignment of political forces of the republic will become clear below after our discussion of its program goals.)

The party achieves its goals in a parliamentary way through factions. Incidentally, a social democratic faction has already been formed in the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet. As its leader, Reyn Veydemann, explained it, the tasks of the faction at this time amount to protecting the interests of the less fortunate segments of the population during the discussion and adoption of draft laws.

SDPE activity is arranged according to the territorial principle: city and village divisions-uyezd organizations-SDPE board. The management organs include the party chairman—Marju Lauristin was elected as this—and his two deputies, a secretariat headed by the general secretary, the board, and the congress. Iokhannes Mikhkelson, the patriarch of Estonian social democracy who now lives in Sweden, was elected honorary party chairman.

One of the distinguishing features of the SDPE is its orientation toward youth. One was also struck by this at the congress where 16-year-old boys keep up with their gray-haired party colleagues in terms of the maturity of political judgment and their ability to control themselves. According to the SDPE statute, a person who has reached 14 years of age can be a member.

The SDPE program contains in the broadest outlines the principles of social democracy based on Christian humanism, Kantian ethics, and Marxist philosophy. At the same time Marxism is rejected as a basis for communist construction. These general principles of social democracy transferred to Estonian soil determine the economic, agrarian, national, cultural, and other kinds of policy of the SDPE.

But the most curious and essential document adopted at the congress, in my view, are the political theses presented by Lauristin. They are offered for open discussion, which should last about a month. And then after corrections are made these theses will comprise a concrete program for the activity of the SDPE in the near future.

As the situation in the society changes, the SDPE leadership will present for discussion new political theses that concretize the activity of the party under the new conditions. This approach to the development of party policy characterizes a completely new stage in the process of creating a truly democratic multiparty political system.

Since it is impossible to give all the content of the aforementioned theses here, I shall discuss only the main sections.

Prospects for Restoration of Independence

It says here that support from the West for the aspirations of the Baltic states to independence increases according to how successful these states' eastern policy is. Therefore it is of greatest importance to cooperate with the democratic forces of Russia and other republics of the Union. It is necessary to refrain from unilateral ultimatums that make movement in this direction more difficult.

But at the same time, in any negotiations with the USSR or individual republics we must not depart from principles of legal succession in the restoration of the Estonian Republic as an independent state.

Internal Political Relations

The existence of two representative organs in the republic—the Supreme Soviet and the Estonian Committee—is a part of the legitimate process of forming a democratic parliament. Any appeals for national consolidation or attempts to crowd opposition forces out of Estonian social life not only impede the development of political culture but also create dangerous mass psychosis.

The only possible resolution to political contradictions is parliamentary dialog. It is impermissible to attach labels in interparty polemics, and it is particularly wrong to accuse people of belonging to the Communist Party.

The Communist Party is a party just like the others. Only it should forego its material privileges.

The Estonian Republic is a national state whose main task is to preserve and develop the Estonian nation. It is possible to fulfill this task only if its importance is recognized by all peoples of other nationalities living in Estonia.

On the other hand, Estonians must support and recognize the free cultural and political development of other peoples living on the territory of the republic. A person's position and rights in Estonia depend not on his nationality and knowledge of the language, but on free choice—to become a citizen of the Estonian Republic or not.

Granting Citizenship

Citizenship in the Estonian Republic is granted to those who have lived and are living in Estonia and have a right to citizenship in the Estonian Republic by birth.

Citizenship in the Estonian Republic is granted to those who have not lived in Estonia for the past 45 years but have a right to citizenship in the Estonian Republic by birth.

Finally, citizenship in the Estonian Republic is granted to those who are living permanently in Estonia but do not have the right to Estonian citizenship by birth.

Citizenship is granted on the basis of a personal application with a certification of loyalty to the Estonian Republic and obedience of its laws. As distinct from the applications of the first two groups of people (registration), the granting of the petition for citizenship of the last group takes a certain amount of time determined by law, during which the individual must acquire an elementary knowledge of the Estonian language and study the history and culture of Estonia.

A citizen of the Estonian Republic may not be a citizen of any other state.

The adoption of the law on citizenship is within the competence of the State Duma. In exceptional cases, individuals petitioning for citizenship in the Estonian Republic who have submitted their applications no later than three months before the elections may participate in the elections to the State Duma.

Property Reform

Privatization—i.e. denationalization of state property—is not only the sole means of effectively advancing the Estonian economy but, it is at the same time the mechanism that will provide each member of society with a direct connection to the economic development of Estonia and develop a sense of ownership.

"The state should release ownership of real estate in shares of 20 percent each:

"—equally among residents of the Estonian Republic and their heirs;

"—among owners of property that was nationalized at one time according to the assessed value;

"—according to the labor contribution since 1940;

"—to cover municipal property;

"—to cover state ownership.

"The shares are transferred to the private bank account (and can be exchanged for real estate or stocks) or they are invested in the state privatization fund which pays interest on them.

"The SDPE considers direct sale of state property to be preferable only within the framework of small-scale privatization (of trade and service enterprises valued at up to R500,000...."

And so forth: concrete proposals for the taxation and social policy and cooperation with trade unions.

Up until now we have had to go over the program documents of our sociopolitical movements and organizations with a fine-toothed comb in order to understand precisely what the people who wrote them had in mind. But when you read the political theses of the SDPE you can either agree or not, but in any case the subject of the discussion is clear.

In my view, another merit of this document is that the discussion of it is open. That is, any person, even one who is not a member of the SDPE, will not only have a clear idea of the party's intentions, but will also be participating in the development of the program for its activity. This is indeed a step forward along the path to an open democratic society.

And the last thing. The SDPE submitted an application to Socialist International for acceptance into that organization. If the answer is positive this will be recognition of a certain level of our political culture.

All we can do is hope that the open words of the new party will be followed by concrete actions.

Estonia-Leningrad Agreement Published

91UN0043A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Sep 90 p 2

["General Agreement Between the Government of the Estonian Republic and Leningrad City and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies on Political, Economic, Social-Cultural, and Legal Cooperation"]

[Text] Proceeding from the Estonian Supreme Soviet resolution of 30 March 1990 "On the State Status of Estonia" and from the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic of 12 June 1990, as well as in consideration of the parallel processes of development of self-government in Leningrad/Leningrad Oblast and the development of statehood in the Estonian Republic; and striving to establish direct, long-term political, economic, trade, scientific-technological, humanitarian, cultural, and other ties on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the Government of the Estonian Republic, the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies have resolved to conclude this General Agreement and have come to agreement on the following:

Article 1.

The parties will maintain regular contacts between state organs of the Estonian Republic and the Leningrad City and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies through consultations, seminars, and conferences on pressing political issues of mutual interest.

Article 2.

In implementing direct economic and other ties, the parties will proceed from legislation and agreements presently in effect in their territories.

Article 3.

The parties will consistently work to develop joint measures directed towards preventing the adoption of legal acts which impede the development of direct political, economic, and other ties, and towards terminating the validity of such acts which have been adopted.

Article 4.

The parties intend to avert the process of collapse of mutual economic ties, and retain basic ties between suppliers and customers of the Estonian Republic, Leningrad, and Leningrad Oblast.

The parties undertake the obligation of facilitating the preservation of presently existing mutually beneficial ties through economic levers.

Article 5.

Proceeding from the advisability of deepening mutually beneficial economic ties on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage, the parties have agreed to build trade and economic relations on the basis of short and long term bilateral (trilateral) agreements on commodities exchange.

Article 6.

The parties intend to expand their cooperation in services in commercial and marketing activity: the exchange of commercial information for forming data banks, participation in fairs organized by the parties, assistance in broadening economic ties between the enterprises of both parties and in creating joint enterprises.

Article 7.

7.1. The parties will facilitate development of contacts in the sphere of social-cultural and scientific cooperation, as well as permanent and stable mutual interaction in the sphere of exchanging representatives of ethnic-cultural societies, social and sociopolitical organizations, exchanging men of science and culture, sportsmen, and students. They will facilitate prospects for the establishment of an Estonian Culture Center in Leningrad and a Leningrad Center of Russian Culture in Tallinn.

7.2. Procedures for the realization of social-cultural and scientific cooperation will be as stipulated by special agreement.

7.3. The parties obligate themselves to strictly observe the human rights of all persons residing in the territories of the contracting parties regardless of their nationality.

Article 8.

Proceeding from the principle of equal significance of ecological problems which confront the parties, and taking into account the definite similarity of the two neighboring regions, the parties will do their utmost to develop cooperation in the sphere of protecting and regenerating the surrounding environment.

Interaction of the parties on issues of mutual interest will be regulated by special agreement.

Article 9.

According to Article 2 of this General Agreement, the parties will undertake mutual legal measures for the protection and utilization of assets of persons residing in the territory of Leningrad/Leningrad Oblast and the Estonian Republic.

Article 10.

The parties will facilitate the establishment of procedures for resolving judicial disputes and executing the decisions of jurisdictional organs in instances when such disputes and decisions affect the interests of persons and corporate persons in the territory of Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast or in the territory of the Estonian Republic.

Article 11.

The parties obligate themselves to establish a permanent operational exchange of information, including information on crime.

Article 12.

12.1. The parties consider it advisable to draw up and adopt prior to 1 October of this year a special trilateral agreement on the status of the economic border between Leningrad Oblast and the Estonian Republic.

12.2. Questions of legal operating procedure for the existing administrative-territorial borders between the RSFSR and Estonian Republic are resolved through negotiations between the RSFSR and the Estonian Republic, with observance of the mutual interests of both sides.

Article 13.

The parties will strive for coordinated actions in the adoption of economic measures in instances where such measures affect the interests of the other party.

Article 14.

The parties obligate themselves to take under consideration a common infrastructure of transportation and communications, and will strive for joint development of these.

Article 15.

The parties consider it necessary to open up a permanent representation of the Government of the Estonian Republic in Leningrad and a permanent representation of the executive committee of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies in Tallinn prior to 1 January 1991, and to conclude an agreement on the status of these representations prior to 1 November 1990.

Article 16.

The parties obligate themselves not to take actions which would be detrimental to the participants in this General Agreement.

Article 17.

Matters of dispute which arise during the process of putting this agreement into effect will be resolved by the parties through procedures as established by legislation according to Article 2 of this agreement. In certain cases a trilateral commission will be established, whose formation procedure and mode of operation will be determined by a special agreement.

Article 18.

This General Agreement is included within the context of negotiations between the Estonian Republic and the RSFSR.

Article 19.

The parties reserve the right to conclude supplementary agreements in all spheres which present mutual interest.

Article 20.

This General Agreement enters into force from the moment of its signing, and will remain in effect until such time as one of the parties gives notice regarding its refusal to participate in the General Agreement not later than one year prior to withdrawing from it.

Article 21.

This General Agreement is drawn up in three copies, in the Russian and Estonian languages. The texts of both languages are equally valid.

[Signed] From the Government of the Estonian Republic. E. SAVISAAR, chairman of the Government of the Estonian Republic.
From the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies. A. SOBCHAK, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet of People's Deputies.
From the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. Yu. YAROV, chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.
[Dated] Leningrad, 14 September 1990.

Estonian Minister Comments

91UN0043B Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 21 Sep 90 p 2

["Commentary by Estonian Justice Minister J. Raidla" on the General Agreement between the Government of the Estonian Republic and the Leningrad City and Oblast Soviets of People's Deputies]

[Text] As of today, new political and economic interrelations are being formed between the Estonian Republic and the Soviet Union as a whole, as well as with individual republics and regions. In this connection the Estonian Republic considers it necessary to undertake intensive efforts to set up horizontal ties with Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast, as its nearest neighbors, all the more so in view of the fact that our economic cooperation is marked by very old tradition. The negotiation process began with a joint communique by E. Savisaar and A. Sobchak on 26 June of this year. The first stage in the negotiations was completed on 14 September with the conclusion of a trilateral agreement, and this is the subject of my commentary.

This agreement is a serious practical outcome within the framework of the Eastern policy of the Government of the Estonian Republic. And clearly it must be assessed not simply as another treaty on cooperation, but indeed as a breakthrough, a significant step forward on our path toward cooperation with the East. In accordance with Article 18, it is to be considered and evaluated within the context of negotiations between the Estonian Republic and the Russian Federation. This gives justification to believe that many significant provisions of the agreement have met with understanding on the part of the Russian leadership. Participation in the session of the Leningrad City Soviet Presidium on 14 September allows me to assert this. In other words, the successful outcome of negotiations in Leningrad provides an impetus for further negotiations with Russia as a whole.

The basic agreement is a document concluded with Leningrad, as one of the most influential regions of the Soviet Union which has an organ of power created through democratic means. The very existence of such an agreement is possible thanks exclusively to the development of the process of democratization. For the first time in relations with our eastern partner, our state status is acknowledged in accordance with the decision of the republic Supreme Soviet of 30 March of this year, a fact which is extremely important for the formation of further mutual relations. On the other hand, we must keep in mind that this agreement cannot be considered a state treaty, or a treaty between two states. Moreover, from the point of view of constitutional law, we are dealing in this instance with entities of different levels. One party is a government (NB! not Estonia as a state); the other is a municipality or organ of self-government. Precisely because of the difference in levels of the entities, it would therefore be improper to conclude the given agreement in the name of the Supreme Soviet and of the Leningrad City and Oblast Soviets. Taking this into account, on 17 May of this year the Government of the Estonian Republic approved the agreement at its session, that is it ratified the text and also tasked the ministers of the appropriate ministries to submit proposals to the government regarding a mechanism for implementing the agreement.

Article 1 of the agreement certifies the desire of the parties to develop political cooperation. Cooperation among leading organs created by democratic means entails in itself an opposition to conservative forces and their actions, of which there are presently enough in both Estonia and Leningrad. According to the basic sense of Article 1, political consultations will be conducted on a regular basis, permitting stable mutual relations to be maintained.

Many provisions of the agreement are aimed at avoiding misunderstandings of legal procedure or towards resolving these. Important here are Articles 2 and 3, according to which the parties acknowledge first of all the legislation currently in effect in their territories and its priority over Union legislation, which is of special importance in contacts with Russia; and second, their intentions to undertake joint legal action to avoid the negative influence of Union legislation on the development of direct ties. Contradictions which might arise in the implementation of laws of the Estonian Republic and Russian Federation for developing cooperation will be resolved through negotiations. When necessary, a trilateral commission will be established according to Article 17 to resolve disputed matters.

The parties have considered it necessary to stipulate in Article 9 mutual obligations on the inviolability of assets according to existing legislation in the territory of each of the parties. Taking into account the record of the Soviet period, when property relations were turned inside out, special note is given to ensuring the protection of citizens. Serving the same purpose is Article 2, according to which exchanges of information will take place and specific joint actions will be carried out in the fight against crime.

In accordance with Article 5, the parties will develop trade and economic relations on the basis of long and short term contracts. Four such contracts are being drawn up as of the present time, protocols on which will be affixed to the basic agreement in the near future. The agreement itself registers the basic principles of economic cooperation in Articles 4-6 and others. A great deal of attention is devoted to joint efforts to avert actions by any party which will have a negative effect on the internal market of another party (Articles 12, 13, 16, 17, and others).

The parties consider establishment of an economic border between the Estonian Republic and Leningrad Oblast to be the basic means of protecting internal markets. We note that such a declaration as appears in Article 12 is proclaimed for the first time. Also stated for the first time is the necessity to examine legal operating procedures for the administrative-territorial border in inter-state negotiations (see Article 12.2). As we know, up until now political and legal doctrine of the Union has not examined the border between republics, even as an issue analogous to inter-state borders.

The need to introduce an economic border during the course of long and complicated negotiations has met with general support, in spite of the fact that a number of uncoordinated political and economic actions of recent time have significantly complicated consultations on this question. In establishing the border, the parties have perceived a commonality of interests in the following:

1. Protecting the internal market of each side. For example, the border will help neutralize the negative consequences for us of increased purchase prices in Russia, and for Leningrad the repeal of subsidies for a number of food products in Estonia;

2. The economic border will enable Leningrad to effectively introduce a model of a free economic zone basically approved by the organs of government of the Russian Federation. For Estonia the role of such a border is difficult to evaluate in the realm of achieving true economic independence;

3. Ensuring fulfillment of mutual state deliveries and concluded sales and purchase contracts;

4. Providing the elements for implementation of the economic reform being carried out by each party;

5. Intensifying the fight against crime, especially against speculation;

6. Activation of external economic ties;

7. Conduct of privatization.

These and a number of other arguments have prompted the contracting parties to become earnestly involved in this matter, to immediately engage in discussion and sign the appropriate agreement by 1 October. The time frame is short, but time does not wait. The negotiations to come are complex since no model exists for the establishment of an economic border.

Principles of cooperation in the social, cultural, scientific, and environmental protection spheres are stated in Articles 7 and 8. Only the main orientations are stipulated since treaties and agreements on these matters already exist.

Article 19 discloses an important principle, according to which the contracting parties consider it possible and necessary to expand their cooperation and elaborate on specific issues. In this manner the basic agreement is open to further deepening of contacts. Naturally, it states only the foundations of principle.

RSFSR

Coverage of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Proceedings

17 Oct Session Reported

LD1710224990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1911 GMT on 17 October carries the 62-minute "RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Supreme Soviet Diary" program on the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

The program begins with RSFSR Finance Minister Fedorov addressing the 16 October session on the RSFSR draft budget. Relations with the center are in suspension at the moement as far as the budget is concerned: the center refuses to provide the necessary information that would ease the task of the RSFSR financial planning bodies. On the subject of local budgets within the RSFSR, he says that many people simply hope for grants with the minimum of outlay on their part. He talks about levels of taxation of the profits of enterprises and about methods for balancing the budget. Privatization could generate funds for local budgets, as will the issue of securities.

Yuriy Dmitriyevich Rudkin, deputy chairman of the Committee for Legislation, then speaks on the subject of draft parliamentary rules for the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. He runs through the existing rules, quoting chapter and verse, and makes the point that the rules should not be seen as static: they must develop as parliament itself develops. He answers questions on various points of detail, including one on the duration of parliamentary sessions. Another deputy asks what is meant by a "closed sitting" of parliament. He explains that the press is to be excluded form such sittings although deputies can attend. The same deputy supports the maintenance of strict discipline at all sessions and proposes an amendment to that effect.

The Supreme Soviet then discusses a number of amendments. This lasts some time, and much of the intended business was postponed.

At 1935 GMT, Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy, the co-author of the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy economic program, speaks. He says the conditions for implementing his plan within the country are worsening: there is friction between republics; the economic program needs a strong government to enforce it; unity of purpose is required since no one republic can implement the plan in isolation; the organizational structure for running the economy must be changed; the highest economic echelons must be renewed; price rises have been used as a means of combatting inflation and this worsens the living conditions of the people; and the inflationary spiral must be broken. The program describes how. In practice, the USSR government's economic program is being put into effect since there have already been price rises. Pensions will have to rise.

What is to be done, Yavlinskiy asks. Politicians must not interfere in the workings of the economy. The republics must have real economic power. At the moment they have less than before in practice if not on paper. The policy of encouraging links between republics must continue and be developed. Thorough financial reform is required. The authorities must get a grip on current issues—transport, crime, etc. The program has not yet started, but it can no longer be fulfilled because circumstances have altered so much. Calm and professionalism are called for. As co-author of the program that can no longer be implemented, he tenders his resignation.

Silayev asks to speak next. He says that he understands Yavlinskiy's feelings, and he recounts the history of the plan's conception. He draws attention to Yavlinskiy's high rank and says that he hoped that Yavlinskiy would decide not to resign in view of what Yeltsin had to say yesterday, weighing up the general situation. He opposes Yavlinskiy's resignation. Corrective changes will be introduced and reported to the Supreme Soviet. He recalls the deleterious effects on meat supply of the announcement that prices will be roughly doubled from next January. Increased social provision will have to be made.

Khasbulatov, in the chair, tries to halt the debate that seems about to erupt by explaining that Yavlinskiy has had the ground swept from under him. There is no point in discussing the matter for it is a personal choice. He closes the subject, saying that there are more important matters to consider such as the precise activities of the various RSFSR ministers, given the generally destructive attitude of the Union government. The RSFSR must reorganize the whole of its executive.

At 2002 GMT, Deputy Yugin asks about the position of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Khasbulatov says that there will soon be a new newspaper: ROSSIYA.

Deputy Kazayev speaks on behalf of the deputies from autonomous areas, complaining about underrepresentation; then another deputy talks about banks, reading a lengthy technical document.

Silayev Opposes Yavlinskiy Resignation

LD1710202690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1626 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by Yuriy Korotkov on the 17 October proceedings of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy's decision to tender his resignation came as a complete surprise to the deputies. They accused him of desertion, defection, and retiring from the arena of struggle at a difficult time for the country and for Russia. If we accept Yavlinskiy's resignation, deputies said, we thereby renounce the implementation of the program that we ourselves approved. Many suggested proceeding individually to create a program and naming Yavlinskiy as the author. But he stubbornly held his ground.

Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, asked to speak. He expressed his own position and the position of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers on Yavlinskiy's decision.

[Begin Silayev recording] It seems to me that one of the strongest members of the government has declared his intention to leave the government. At a time when we need to act and decide, and most important to choose one of the three draft economic programs, and having chosen to act energetically, Grigoriy Alekseyevich seriously complicates the government's work in that vital area. And I categorically object, as the man who introduced him to you and obtained your support, to his request being granted.

Moreover, in a very short time—I think it will be in seven to 10 days—we, I mean the government, are to report to you on practical measures so that a considerable part of the program that the people believed—without going into too much detail—they believed the Russian parliament, they believed the government—and this, if you like, is a gesture that destroys the hopes of what they believed in. [sentence as heard]

I cannot say that the program can be implemented in its full form and unconditionally—and this was also stated yesterday—but I can say that a serious amount of the work contained in that program undoubtedly can and should be implemented. Moreover, one can say that in itself, this program from its very start played a significant role in ensuring that many questions were, as Grigoriy Alekseyevich said, in a certain sense repeated. But different mechanisms, and a different disposition of forces, naturally confronts us with the need to introduce certain corrections. We shall report to you on what these corrections will be in the very near future.

Therefore, I repeat that I do not agree with Grigoriy Alekseyevich's stance. I oppose it and I request you—naturally I cannot demand—I request you not to give your consent, but on the contrary in this complicated situation when, and I repeat, the center has taken up its position and it is necesasry to act energetically, his departure from the government would be a blow and would require a certain amount of time to choose a replacement, to rearrange the ranks. And at this moment this is virtually impermissible. I express the request of the government and the Presidium—we have discussed this for two days—we oppose this and ask you to support us on this. [end recording] In the end, the deputies postponed a decision on this question. [passage omitted]

Deputy Discusses Tasks for Future

LD1710145490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Interview with Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, deputy to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, RSFSR, by correspondent Ludmilla Semina; from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 17 October—recorded]

[Text] This morning the deputies have been discussing the draft standing orders of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, now in the second reading. The rules of the game should have been set a long time ago, but what can you do? All legislative activity, whether the Union parliament or the Russian one, consists of setting the rules for our lives.

After yesterday's statement by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin in the Russian legislature, we should be talking about more complex things, about more serious things, perhaps of fundamental importance, such as how we are to live in the future. I asked Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, a deputy to the Russian legislature and the leader of the Russian Communists, to take part in this report. I asked for his opinion about both the statement and how we are to live in the future.

[Polozkov] Regarding the statement, I see it as a challenge and an appeal to public opinion in line with the protracted debates and the long drawn-out fuss over the program for transition to a market economy, because as we are losing time, each day the state of both the economy and relations among nationalities are worsening, along with the fate of our Union. Therefore, from this point of view the statement is constructive. From the point of view of what we now see and what we now have to do to get out of the crisis in which the economy of our comuntry, our Union, and our society find themselves, is to first and foremost define precisely what we want. When we say perestroyka, perestroyka, perestroyka, what is it that we think we are restructuring?

[Semina] How are we going to live normally?

[Polozkov] How are we going to do it? Today we must precisely define the way: that is the first thing. We have to tell people honestly: Esteemed fellow countrymen, we have embarked upon perestroyka; we will do this and that, with your agreement; and we have to deliver this and that. That is the way to do it. It is not easy; indeed, the transition period will be a difficult time for us. However, we have to go through this crisis in which we find ourselves—the chaos and decline which are growing worse with each passing day—so that perestroyka leads us to what we want. It is well known how this decline came about: The old system has been destroyed, the new democratic institutions have not been consolidated, discipline has deteriorated, the plan system has collapsed, and economic ties have broken down. I would explain all this by saying that at the moment we have no real power in the country, in the government, or in the republic. Everyone does what he wants. That is not the way to build a common home.

[Semina] As you were saying, even democrats realize that there is a need for authority, strong authority. But what should the new authority be like? Should it be the same as before, with party structures and bureaucratic structures?

[Polozkov] No, I think there will be no going back to either party or democratic structures.

[Semina] You mean bureaucratic. There have not been any democratic ones yet, I think.

[Polozkov] There will be no return to party, nor to bureaucratic, nor to administrative structures—to those strict economic structures. We have made our choice for the democratization of society, a multiparty system, democratic administrative methods, and local self-government. That is the path we should take. We need to give more rights to local soviets; we need to give more rights to the republics. So long as we live in a Union—and today not one republic, including the Russian Federation, can live autonomously—that is how our economy has developed according to our old canons. In other words, today we have to think about how to hold on to our Union, not by administrative measures but out of interests and economic measures. You will agree with me that in any case we need bodies of authority which we will have to take into account, which we will respect, and whose instructions we will fulfill.

[Semina] One could say the Russian parliament has not taken very radical measures, waiting for a decision from the Union parliament, and has constantly repeated that we must must go together. We are in favor of the Union, but how much longer must we wait?

[Polozkov] The fact is that we have not yet found anything. That is the tragedy. If, and there is a one-sided approach here... [changes thought] the difficulty here is that every republic makes its own goals the priority ones. They do not want to make concessions, do not want to take our reality into account. Either you give it us or we will not (?play ball), is the feeling. But a serious statesperson does not act like this, certainly not in our Union.

Today we lack everything, so we have to have as a starting point our reality and put together a Union treaty out of precisely these realities. If we start by saying we will not give this and we are selling this somewhere else, then we will not get a Union. There will not be a Union treaty. That means there will not be perestroyka either.

[Semina] Ivan Kuzmich, let me ask you one more question, although we have spoken for quite a long time on the air. It seems to me that the biggest conflict is between the Russian parliament and the Union government. The Russian parliament is demanding the sovereignty of the republic so that the economy can develop according to the laws of common sense. The Union government wants everything to remain at the center which is like a black hole, it (?swallows everything, all the work). Where does it all go?

[Polozkov] I do not quite agree with you. The fact is that we have two concepts, two approaches to perestroyka. The program of Shatalin and Yavlinskiy is one of a radical transition and radical changes. The Abalkin program, the government program, is for moderate radical changes, controlled changes. That is the difference.

There are positives and negatives in each program. This has made the president and the USSR Supreme Soviet try to combine the positives and remove the negatives in these programs. A new, third program is being born. It would be very good if it could be born at the Supreme Soviet session this week. It is time for it to be born. We have had enough. We need action now. We cannot calm the people now with anything other than action.

[Semina] Time will tell. We must place our hope in our leadership. This concludes our report from the RSFSR parliament at the House of Soviets of Russia.

Russian Commission Sets Timetable for Constitution

PM1710145190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Communique on a Plenary Sitting of the RSFSR Constitutional Commission"]

[Text] A routine plenary sitting of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Constitutional Commission was held 12 October in the RSFSR House of the Soviets. It was chaired by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Constitutional Commission and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

The plenary sitting was devoted to an examination of the draft "Constitution of the Russian Federation" which was prepared by the commission's working group in accordance with the decision of the previous plenary sitting.

RSFSR People's Deputy O.G. Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission and leader of the working group, gave an address entitled "The New Constitution of the Russian Federation and Its Features and Place in the Republic's Political-Economic Renewal."

The following RSFSR people's deputies gave addresses in the discussions on the report: V.L. Sheynis, S.A. Glotov, Yu. A. Ryzhov, Yu.Ya. Dmitriyev, S.N. Baburin, Yu.M. Slobodkin, V.I. Tuykov, S.N. Shakhray, K.N. Khamatov, S.V. Sirotkin, I.A. Bolotov, V.M. Kuznetsov, R.I. Khasbulatov, and USSR People's Deputy A.M. Obolenskiy.

The speakers noted the great work done by the working group that was directly involved in the preparation of the draft Constitution. At the same time, the assessment of the draft was unclear: various, sometimes conflicting approaches to the proposed concept of the Constitution emerged.

The concluding speech was made by B.N. Yeltsin who was appearing in the Russian Parliament for the first time since his enforced absence especially so that he could participate in this sitting. Noting the natural differences in opinion, the commission chairman suggested the adoption of the proposed document as a basis for further work on the new Constitution involving the opinions of deputies, experts, and the public.

The participants in the plenary sitting of the RSFSR Constitutional Commission adopted the following decisions by a majority of votes:

1. To adopt the proposed draft as a working basis;

2. To instruct the working group to finish revising the draft Constitution taking into account the observations expressed;

3. To send the revised draft Constitution of the Russian Federation to RSFSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions before 20 October of this year;

4. To instruct the committees and commissions to hold discussions on the draft and present their observations to the Constitutional Commission by 5 November 1990;

5. To hold the next plenary sitting of the Constitutional Commission in November 1990 and examine the question of the publication of the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation in the press for nationwide discussion and of the submission of the draft to the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies with the subsequent adoption of the Constitution through a republic referendum.

SFSR Draft Law on Unions' Rights Viewed

914F0005A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report on interview with K. Krylov, secretary of the FNPR Council, by correspondent V. Mazurov; place and date not given: "It Starts With Human Rights"]

[Text] The recently concluded constituent congress of Russian trade unions submitted for consideration to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet by way of the legislative initiative the Declaration of Workers' Rights and the draft RSFSR law "Legal Guarantees of Trade Union Activity." Why did the need for the elaboration and adoption of these documents arise? Our correspondent talks about this with K. Krylov, secretary of the Council of Russian Independent Trade Unions Federation (FNPR).

[Mazurov] The preparation of new constitutions of the USSR and the Russian Federation is currently under way. How are the unions reacting to this?

[Krylov] Some people have proposed that we draw up our own version of a draft RSFSR Basic Law. Others, on the contrary, have said that it is not the unions' business to involve themselves in making laws. The majority of delegates to the constituent congress of the FNPR, however, deemed it necessary that we submit to the republic Supreme Soviet proposals for a new constitution directly concerning the rights of the working people.

Thus a declaration encompassing the standards that are today recognized by the international community was born. We studied approximately 200 documents issued over the past 40 years and all ILO conventions. And many of them had been signed by our state also, only they were not widely advertised. We showed delegates at the congress the 1952 Code of Labor Laws, the cover of which contains a "For Official Use Only" stamp. For a long period of time labor laws in our country were in fact "for official use".

As distinct from the international documents, pride of place in our declaration is taken not by political and economic but personal, cultural, and social rights. After all, an individual must first be formed as a personality. He should have the elementary right to life and to its increased span, and the right to inviolability of the person and defense of honor and reputation. He should have cultural rights also: to education and to the enjoyment of achieving domestic and world culture.

As far as economic rights are concerned, they were not previously enshrined either in the constitution or in other laws. For this reason we advocate man's right to property, to choice of economic system, and to enterprise. And take remuneration. At times a person knows merely one right—to obtain wages. We need to seek to ensure that wages are issued in money that is legal tender in our own country and on the territory of other countries. When moving in our country from one oblast to another, money becomes in fact illegal for it is necessary to append to it one's ID and registration or shopping permit.

The Declaration of Workers' Rights is not an ultimatum to the government and parliament; it represents, I emphasize once again, our proposals for the constitution in new labor and civil legislation. But it is simultaneously a call for the unions to struggle to ensure that the declared rights be reflected right now in agreements with various authorities and in collective contracts. This is a kind of legal action program for the unions locally.

[Mazurov] But declaring rights is only half the matter. Will they not remain merely on paper in the form of attractive slogans?

[Krylov] There are these misgivings. Today 70 legislative enactments regulating our activity are in effect on the territory of the USSR and the RSFSR. Nonetheless, the unions have practically no rights. This is partly our fault also. For example, not one statute says that the trade union is a legal entity. What rights and duties can we speak of?

It is this that we are correcting. But we now need a special legislative enactment. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions submitted to the country's Supreme Soviet the draft USSR law "Rights of the Trade Unions." But appreciable changes subsequently appeared in our life: Russia's sovereignty has been proclaimed, the FNPR has emerged, a course toward the market has been adopted, and Article 113 of the RSFSR Constitution records: The legal status of republic public organizations is determined by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Consequently, we need not a union but a republic law guaranteeing the unions realization of their rights.

It is further needed because many legislative enactments and nonbinding instruments have been in a state of suspended animation, as it were, and are literally losing their legal force by the day. For this reason we need to legislatively confirm the rights available to the unions and introduce new elements of these guarantees. In addition, fundamentally new unions are emerging and representative bodies of working people—strike committees, worker committees—are arising. This also needs to be regulated legislatively.

Proceeding from this, we submitted to the republic parliament the proposal for the adoption of a special legislative enactment. It is a question of a small group of important legal guarantees concerning our relations with the state and economic authorities. The RSFSR law "Legal Guarantees of Trade Union Activity" should unfailingly be a part of the package of legislative enactments pertaining to the transition to the market economy.

[Mazurov] Have you had preliminary contacts with the people's deputies? What is their attitude toward your documents?

[Krylov] We have conducted preliminary consultations with members of the Russian Supreme Soviet and representatives of various committees. These documents were discussed at meetings between leaders of the FNPR and B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and also Iayev, chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. Unfortunately, not all deputies support our proposals, and not only because they wish to rework and improve them. Some have declared plainly that they will block any document from the FNPR merely because it is submitted by the unions. This is not, I believe, a constructive position. Nor is that of some deputies who support other trade union centers and who also are disposed to vote against any draft of ours.

[Mazurov] This attitude is evidently explained by the fact that the former unions exhausted the people's credit of trust. What needs to be done to ensure that people believe in the new unions and follow them?

[Krylov] Truly, the unions will hardly win confidence by involving themselves in "shaking loose" for people under conditions of shortages cigarettes, macaroni, and cans of stewed meat. I believe that we need to afford the working people an opportunity to create unions by profession. Then several unions could at one enterprise operate simultaneously. It is not fortuitous that we have recorded in the declaration a proposition concerning the right of each citizen to freely form trade unions, join them, and engage in trade union activity. There is after all neither freedom nor choice currently. And individual social groups—servicemen for example—are not permitted to have trade unions at all. But why should they remain without protection?

We could restore trust also if we strive to abolish on republic territory the anticonstitutional lists depriving considerable numbers of working people of the right of legal appeal against dismissal. And we need to impart retroactive force to the law concerning repeal in order that the cases of persons whose rights have been infringed can be heard regardless of the period of the statute of limitations.

[Mazurov] You have called yourself the Federation of Independent Trade Unions. But can the chairman of a trade union committee at the enterprises really feel independent? Will he be free if he remains materially dependent on the director?

[Krylov] Indeed, they are currently dependent on the business managers: They both receive bonuses per the results of plan fulfillment and get their wages from a single fund. What should be done? Some people say: The unions should live only on their own resources. But the unions cannot and should not live only on membership dues. After all, they accomplish very important assignments for all of society.

I believe a subsidy both on the part of the government and on the part of the enterprises is necessary. For this reason we are inserting in the bill the following proposal: Enterprises should contribute money to the trade union fund to support full-time primary organization officials. But it is not the director who should set and pay the wages but the union.

[Mazurov] You are confronting the Russian Government with the demand for the creation of guarantees of the social protection of the working people and members of their families. But what action are you taking, how are you helping people specifically?

[Krylov] Primarily the preparation of bills and the conclusion of agreements with the government, agreements locally, and collective contracts. In addition, special measures of social protection have been envisaged. A solidarity fund is being set up in the FNPR. It will be formed from the membership dues of the territorial and branch organizations. In addition, we will create an insurance fund, a republic pension fund, and a social insurance fund. That is, there should be many funds so that we might assist in different situations various categories of people.

[Mazurov] But let us return to the documents submitted to the republic's parliament....

[Krylov] Unless they are adopted, there can be no question of any trade union support for the program of transition to a market economy. These documents are essential to the working people under the conditions of approaching instability and uncertainty. We hope that the deputies will display common sense.

Attacks Against 'Action Program-90' Criticized

PM1710102190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Tatyana Panina and Yuriy Shabanov under the rubric "Returning to a Topic": "Who Is Lighting Matches?"]

[Text] Recently the presenter of the "Good Evening, Moscow!" television program asked the question put in the headline, having in mind the sensational "Action Program-90." He himself hastened to answer from the screen: TASS, PRAVDA, and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. He said this as though he were hammering in a nail, without even explaining his stance. He simply repeated to no purpose the reproaches already repeatedly leveled against the "black" press.

Here we are borrowing an epithet from the weekly KURANTY which obviously, by analogy with the Old Testament subject of the pure and impure, divided the mass media into "white" and "black." The latter included mainly the communist press.

The search for enemies is continuing. The "rightists" are zealously seeking enemies in the camp of the "leftists" while they are seeking with no less zeal enemies among the "rightists." And all to the accompaniment of desperate calls for civil consensus, which in the present fierce struggle for power are more like diplomatic bows than sincere impulses of the heart. Of what consensus is it possible to speak sometimes if diametrically opposed forces set themselves absolutely different goals? They have absolutely no use for consensus, as can clearly be seen in the example of the "rotting potatoes." Having sunk their teeth into the blanket of power, the extreme rightists are reiterating: "Look at your much-vaunted democrats, they have failed to bring in the harvest. Come on people, take your places under the good old banners!" Meanwhile, the extreme leftists, pulling the blanket back toward themselves, are blaming everything on the bolshevik regime which has so "rotted" society that it cannot be lured into the field for anything.

But whichever way you pull the blanket the effect is the same: Either there are feet in darned socks or there is a head shouting at the top of its voice: "I want to eat!" And this highly important nuance was grasped by the compilers of the "Action Program-90." Let us note that it is not a case of some amorphous program but of a "program of practical actions for the remaining months of 1990 for all democratic organizations belonging to the 'Russian Democratic Forum,'" as the RDF [Russian Democratic Forum] council of representatives described it. The godfathers of this program, so to speak, who gathered the journalists to the conference—V. Skurlatov, secretary of the Russian People's Front; Moscow Soviet People's Deputy S. Gorbachev; A. Ladeyshchikov, member of the board of corepresentatives of the RDF; and A. Bugayev from the christian-democratic union—asserted unanimously that in contrast to the phrase-mongering parliamentarians we have elaborated an absolutely specific document....

What indeed could be more specific if they want to make all its 32 points reality in the "remaining months." But if it is a case of a program of practical actions they must answer the main question: Where are these actions directed? The "white" and "black" mass media were unanimous: The program has a blatantly extremist whiff, and some of them even compare it with carefully elaborated instructions for carrying out a political coup. And what about the authors themselves? At the press conference V. Skurlatov stated:

"The 'Action Program-90' from our viewpoint is the best option for emerging from the state of civil war into which the old partyism and the new egotism are irreversibly plunging the country."

Is not the reason why the program's deadline has been urgently set because, as Skurlatov warns, "in view of the cannibalistic nature of our compatriots bloody excesses are almost inevitable?" We shall not hasten to draw conclusions but try first to understand where the feet grow from, that is who nonetheless stands behind the 'Action Program-90." It is on this subject that keen debates have developed in the press. In our view the answer to this question is important if only because it makes it possible to judge the seriousness of the document itself.

Together with IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Vyzhutovich, who he writes determined from a single telephone call that just 17 participants stand behind the program, we would very much like to believe in that and close the topic with a large full stop. Who knows what delirious ideas will occur to some people? And in such an explosive time, when people are prepared to believe whatever you like, should we put such delirium into the pages of a newspaper, heating the pan of our existence in this country already sizzling with universal embitterment?

Truly it would not be worth it, but the godfathers of "Action Program-90" themselves are resolutely rising up against the item in IZVESTIYA in which it is called "an extremist plan by a small group of people... who represent no one but themselves." For instance, S. Gorbachev stated that this is a deliberate distortion of the facts because Yelena Petrakova, to whom the correspondent telephoned, spoke to him not about 17 people but about 17 organizations which took part in preparing the program.

"The devil knows!" V. Skurlatov exclaims. "Our forum is an entirely respectable organization which was born within the interregional association of democratic organizations and its initiator was Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, leader of the Christian-Democratic Union. About 40 parties and public organizations in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Yekaterinburg, and other cities are now taking part in our work. And we spent a whole month working on the program, honing it, and gathering on Mondays in the Moscow soviet building...."

To our question as to what organizations actually belong to the RDF, Skurlatov began to list them: "The Russian People's Front; the Christian-Democratic Union; the free trade unions; representatives of the people's fronts of Bryansk, Magadan, and Krasnodar; some voters' clubs of Moscow city and oblast; and 'Shchit.' Our aims and those of the liberal democratic party are close, although we differ as to means."

What is this—a sick imagination, a claim to a nonexistent importance? Perhaps. When talk turned to the "Shchit" movement, for instance, the journalists asked: "What, does it belong completely to the RDF?" And we received an evasive answer: "No, it is some wing of 'Shchit' which is interested in not only military but also democratic topics. Petrov from 'Shchit' is on our council of corepresentatives...." The first sentence is particularly notable. We immediately had a doubt: Are they not making out here that what they want is reality? Someone from some organization or other has come to a sitting of the RDF council and been registered, and immediately it gives itself a "tick" in a column: One more movement has joined the bloc. But we think that everything is not that simple. The by no means rank and file representatives of the Russian People's Front and the Christian Democratic Union who attended the press conference did not deny their association with the Russian Democratic Forum or with the program's elaboration. No, this program had not been voted for, had not been signed by representatives of parties and organizations belonging to the RDF because, Skurlatov explained, "we do not have a ritual of signing, some ceremonial ratification. We read it out 31 July at a meeting of the council of representatives and everyone agreed—at any rate no one opposed it."

Note "no one opposed it." And here is another thing. The RDF leaders who came to the press conference said that they had made no secret of their program, and moreover to quote S. Gorbachev: "On 22 August our document was issued to the official representatives of all kinds of organizations and movements." Was the "Action Program-90" known to the Interregional Deputies Group, "Democratic Russia," and the Moscow association of voters which, it was asserted at the press conference, do indeed have nothing to do with the RDF?

The coauthors of this document are firmly convinced they could not help but know. But then the question arises: If they did know, why did they start talking about it and dissociate themselves from it only after it had been made public in the press?

It would be very simple to reply: They were keeping quiet and waiting in the sidelines until the others had some success and the people were sent to the final storming of totalitarianism and then they would step in. But this would be sheer fabrication in the spirit of apparatus visions. No, we do not ascribe this sin to the abovementioned organizations. And we do not intend, as Professor E. Volodin did in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, to draw analogies between the program and selected passages from the talk between Yu. Afanasyev and L. Karpinskiy [MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI NO. 38, 23 September 1990) which discusses the convening of a uniting forum of democratic forces. However you strain your imagination, you cannot find in this conversation any calls for the violent seizure of power. There are coincidences of thought, but similar coincidences—touching on for instance public participation in the solution of economic problems, or the rejection of the division of property in accordance with the lumpen leveling down principle which asserts that things may be worse but at least everyone is equal—can be found with equal success in the program documents of the 28th CPSU Congress. So let us "sew" the Communist Party to the RDF too.

Of course it is possible to explain the belated reaction by the fact that they did not take it seriously, they did not expect such a reaction from the forces which, having accused all democrats wholesale of preparing a political coup, would immediately start to drive tanks on the Ryazan fields. Here is what RSFSR People's Deputy V. Lysenko, a leader of the former "Democratic Platform in the CPSU" and now an active member of "Democratic Russia," who came to the press conference with journalists, had to say:

"I have an ambivalent attitude toward the 'Action Program-90.' It contains a whole series of points and positions which are defended by all democratic forces, but it also contains sections which we absolutely do not share. We believe that in the present situation statements about the forcible sharing of property could lead to the creation of ground for the preparation of a military coup in the country."

Consequently it would have been worth reacting promptly. And if the democrats had stated their position with regard to the program without waiting for such a stormy reaction in the press, then obviously there would have been no reaction itself. In any event there would have been no shadow cast on all democratic forces, as alas was the case in the articles of TASS observer V. Petruni. We are personally convinced that they are highly tendentious and merely fuel passions, although the author's alarm in connection with the appearance of the program itself is understandable.

Whatever its creators may say about how their main aim is to prevent civil war, voluntarily or not they are fuelling it by calls for the distribution of property and the occupation of premises and housing—all this without prior arrangement—and for the abolition of collective and state farms with the aid of detachments of squatters; the nationalization of trade unions' property; and the dismantling of monuments to Marx, Engels, and Lenin....

Incidentally, the revelations of Skurlatov are highly curious:

"Our slogan is 'return what has been stolen!' immediately. Frankly, yes, by seizing it! There is nothing bad in that. We are called extremists and scum. But imagine a thief is taking your property before your very eyes. How should you behave? We answer: 'It is very simple, catch up with him and hit him!' People will say: 'No, it would be more correct to take him to the militia, and then to court.' But that is in a rule-of-law society, and we live in what is not a rule-of-law society. That means we must ourselves return what has been stolen. Of course, it would be desirable to do this without bloodshed, but people should feel we will take it...."

How does the slogan "return what has been stolen!" differ from the slogan from 1917 of "steal what has been stolen!"? By its more delicate turn of phrase, that is all. Yet both slogans mean taking away by force. After all, the bolsheviks also sincerely believed that what had been "stolen" belonged to the people and that consequently they "would take it," as Skurlatov says. And what difference is there between occupying premises without prior arrangement in the name of the revolution and doing so in the name of democracy? The result is the same. To the question do the program's creators consider such actions to be arbitrary and illegal, Sergey Gorbachev replied briefly: "The people are above the law. What stands behind these lofty words if not a call to struggle by what are far from parliamentary methods? And where this can lead can be seen in the example of today's interethnic conflicts.

Actually, that is enough about the thrust of the program. It is known from a number of publications, and as has already been stated, the assessment has been unanimous: It is an extremist program. But nonetheless how should we categorize its authors? Who are they—left of the leftists themselves, extreme radicals? We shall not judge their political face, especially as so much has become mixed up in our society, and you can no longer work out whether the leftists are rightists or the rightists leftists. Let us merely note that they display equal zeal in abusing the rightists and the leftists, the CPSU, and the new parliament and that they criticize the Moscow City soviet and its leaders, "Democratic Russia," and others. When it was asked whether the RDF belongs to the "Democratic Russia" bloc, S. Gorbachev replied sharply: "We were not invited there. One forms the impression that they are monopolists and are afraid of competition and therefore keep us well away.... We stick in their throats...."

And Skurlatov added: "The Russian People's Front gave very active assistance to the democrats at the elections to the Russian Supreme Soviet. Our boys wrote leaflets and stuck up posters. They got into parliament on our shoulders and now they do not want to know us...."

It is indeed annoying. To help someone hoist themselves to power and... then to be unemployed. But how to come to power oneself or at least take a morsel of power? Accuse the rightists and the leftists if incompetence and bring out one's own "program of practical actions." Ambitions, and that is all. But if both sides—conservatives and radicals—begin to play on this program (they have already begun) and do not stop, using it in the struggle for power, you can expect no good of it. The war of ambitions may simply develop into a civil war, with all of us its victims.

News Conference Previews Democratic Russia Forum

PM1710145490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Congress Planned"]

[Text] To strengthen the organizational unity of democratic forces in their resistance to totalitarianism and to further politicize the population—these are the tasks that the "Democratic Russia" movement, whose founding congress will open next week, is setting itself. This was announced 12 October at a news conference in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] House of Soviets devoted to the forthcoming forum. The leaders of the congress organizational committee, the "Shield" association, the Constitutional Democrats movement, the Social Democratic Party, Democratic Platform, and the Russian Democratic Party took part in the press conference.

RSFSR People's Deputy L. Ponomarev, deputy chairman of the organizational committee, stated that 1,700 delegates from 73 krays, oblasts, and autonomous republics of Russia will take part in the work of the congress. The statutes, drawn up by Russian Deputy V. Dmitriyev, are to be adopted. It was stressed that "Democratic Russia" will perform only information and coordination functions.

Moscow City To Publish 'Nonpolitical' Paper

PM1710161790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "Stankevich Becomes Editor"]

[Text] The Moscow City Soviet Presidium has decided to begin publishing VEDOMOSTI MOSSOVETA early in the new year. It is intended that eight three-page issues of VEDOMOSTI will be published a year with a print run of 5,000 copies. The price of one issue of the Moscow Soviet subscription organ will be two rubles. Moscow Soviet deputies and members of Moscow rayon soviet presidiums will receive the new publications free. Sergey Stankevich, first deputy chairman of Moscow City Soviet, who has been confirmed as editor of VEDOMOSTI MOSSOVETA, described the new publication as "nonpolitical, purely informational, and publishing mainly documents."

Leningrad Veterans Support 7 Nov Holiday Plans

PM1710154590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Veterans' Appeal"]

[Text] A meeting of the aktiv of the war veterans who live in the city on the Neva has been held in the okrug Officers' Center. The Leningrad City Soviet's plans to create a free economic zone in the city and proposals to restore its historical name were severely criticized.

In its resolution the assembly condemned the "unbridled slander campaign by destructive antiperestroyka forces, attacking the socialist option of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces and pursuing a line of restoring capitalism;" called on war veterans to carry on patriotic education more actively and defend Lenin's name; and recommended that they participate in the holiday demonstration to mark the 73d anniversary of Great October.

Gidaspov Addresses Leningrad Party Organization

PM1810080290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Overcome Growing Crisis"]

[Text] The demand for the development of a new CPSU program was firmly voiced at a conference of the Leningrad Oblast CPSU organization today. The document "The Political Position of the Leningrad CPSU Oblast Organization Conference and the Party Obkom [Oblast Committee] Action Program" which has been adopted stresses in particular: "The party needs a program of stern realism rather than theoretical possibilities."

The proposal has been put to all parties and democratic movements and organizations in the region that a discussion be held before 1 January next year to elaborate ways to create a broad coalition aimed at stabilizing the political and economic situation and achieving civic consensus. It is planned to propose to Communists who are deputies of the Leningrad city and oblast soviets that Communist Party factions be set up.

The conference decided to hold a scientific discussion on the modern concept of socialism and elaborate a Leningrad version of the draft new CPSU program. It is planned to set up a party radio and television company and a party information agency.

A report was delivered by B.V. Gidaspov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the party obkom.

Dam Construction Halted After Leningrad Decision

LD1710125990 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Serdobolskiy]

[Text] Leningrd October 17 TASS—The construction of an anti-flood dam in the Gulf of Finland has been halted in line with a decision taken by Leningrad Council on Monday [15 October].

The councillors blamed the ecological damage which, according to a survey by the USSR Academy of Sciences' commission headed by Aleksey Yablokov, a corresponding member of the academy, would be caused to the area.

The commission concluded that the facilities have seriously complicated the ecological situation in the Neva Bay. Pollution of bottom-set grounds in individual areas has increased nearly three-fold in recent years.

The issue was discussed in a very stormy atmosphere. Feelings also ran high outside the conference hall. Lots of telegrams have been sent to the session by advocates and opponents of the project.

Council Chairman Anatoliy Sobchak called for reassigning the personnel, who now work on the project, to build nature conservation facilities, tunnels, grade separations and overpasses in order to solve road congestion in the city.

However, the Leningrad City Council will ask to maintain centralised funding of the dam until 1995, with re-channelling of funds for the construction of local and centralised purifying installations.

Terms for an international contest for the best version of the reconstruction of the dam will be worked out, with every project to be subjected to qualified scrutiny.

The aggregate cost of the project was estimated at about one billion roubles. As of today, 66.5 per cent of the amount has been spent.

1 Killed, 7 Injured in Kaliningrad Explosion

LD1610224790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2107 GMT on 16 October broadcasts in its "Television News Service" program a video report from Shkolnaya Ulitsa in Kaliningrad on an explosion in a city street. The reporter notes that at the end of the working day a man pulled an explosive device from his pocket and hurled it into a crowd of passers-by, killing one person and injuring seven. The culprit is identified as Valentin Volkov, age 28, and described as a "parasite" and unemployed. He has been arrested. The video shows scene at Shkolaya Ulitsa, a damaged wall, and Volkov sitting in a cell.

Koryak Okrug Declares Itself Autonomous Republic

PM1710143690 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Captain Second Rank M. Lukanin under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Okrug Becomes Republic"]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy—A session of the Koryak Okrug Soviet of People's Deputies in Palana changed the state status of the autonomous okrug which was part of Kamchatka Oblast, proclaiming the creation of the Koryak Soviet Autonomous Republic. It is as yet unclear how the new autonomous republic intends to ensure its economic sovereignty. The local population of just over 40,000 people is mainly engaged in reindeer breeding, for the development of which annual subsidies are allocated from the oblast budget.

The proclamation of the Koryak republic occurred on the eve of the oblast's adoption of the concept for the transition to the market economy based on the unified functioning of the Kamchatka national economic complex.

Orenburg Oblast Soviet Chairman Resigns

PM1710142490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by V. Vedernikov: "A Choice Is Made"]

[Text] A session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies has finished work in Orenburg. Important questions in the life of the oblast were on the agenda.

A.F. Kolinichenko, chairman of the oblast soviet and first secretary of the CPSU obkom [oblast committee], made a statement announcing that he had taken the decision to concentrate his efforts in future on party work. The session expressed its gratitude to him for his activity in the post of chairman of the oblast soviet, and approved his request. B.N. Grigoryev, previously deputy chairman of the soviet, was elected the new chairman in a contested election.

Buddhist Publication Starts Up in Aginskoye Okrug

PM1810084890 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 6

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA-TASS report under "News" rubric: "DUNGAR calls"]

[Text] Aginskoye, Chita Oblast—The Aginskoye Okrug Soviet of People's Deputies and the Aginskoye CPSU Okruzhkom [okrug party committee] have found a common language with the lamas of the local Buddhist datsan, or temple. The okrug soviet and party newspaper TOLON (DAWN) has organized, with the assistance of clergy of the cult, the publication of a special supplement entitled DUNGAR, which in translation from the Buryat language means "Call to Charity." The material published in its pages talks of the peacemaking activities of Buddhists, the traditions and customs of the Buryats, and the sources of the religion and culture of this ancient people.

According to the editor, Ts. Gongorov, the special supplement DUNGAR does not intend to propagandize the teaching of the Buddha. The aim of the new periodical publication is to awake in the people, with the help of religious figures, feelings of charity and compassion and to promote the establishment of the principles of humanism.

Western Republics

Reportage on Hunger Strike, Demands in Ukraine

Deputies Conisder Demands

LD1710194190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Reports from TASS correspondents: The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today adopted a decision suggested yesterday by the Conciliation Commission in charge of settling the conflict with the students of a number of republican higher educational establishments who have been on hunger strike since 2 October.

The document, adopted by an overwhelming majority of deputies, reflects all the demands of the hunger strikers. The question of confidence in the present composition of the Supreme Soviet will be examined during the course of the national referendum in 1991 and the question of holding new elections by the year's end will be decided in light of the results of the referendum.

As for the resignation of Masol, the head of government, it has been decided to take cognizance of the report on this by Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, and to resolve this matter in accordance with the procedure laid down by the republican Constitution.

Commission Responds to Strike

LD1810125290 Kiev International Service in English 0000 GMT 18 Oct 90

[passages in quotation marks recorded in vernacular fading into English translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The session of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet continued its work today in the city of Kiev.

The plenary sitting of the session began with an examination of the situation caused by more than two-weeks hunger strikes of the Ukrainian students in downtown Kiev, and today is the third day of the (?known) sanctions by the local authorities and youth manifestations of support to the strikers. The health conditions of the hungering students evokes serious concern among the people's deputies, and that is why the first who took the floor at the morning sitting was Anatoliy Spizhenko, Ukraine's minister for health protection. On behalf of the doctors of the republic, he made a statement:

"[Spizhenko] The Ministry of Health Protection; personally, me, as minister who is entrusted the health of the Ukrainian nation; as well as many doctors addressing us, all of us are extremely worried about hunger striking students.

"The doctor's oath makes us to warn that no one, neither strikers nor those who support or oppose them, can foresee all possible after effects of this action, that they may turn into tragedy. And do we really fight for a civilized society by methods of terrible times, when an individual himself or his health costs nothing under conditions of political confrontation?

"We doctors call on everyone dealing with the (?section) to reveal wisdom and use all possible levers and chances in order to stop hunger strike, which threatens the future of our sons and daughters."

[Announcer] Several people's deputies from the parliament opposition expressed their solidarity with the students. They are also waging a hunger strike but do not leave the hall of the session and interrupt their work in parliament. We would also mention that many members of the supreme legislative body of the Ukraine, both from the conservatives and opposition, do not share this position.

As to the people's deputies who are waging a hunger strike, their opinion is that this fact means that the people's council refused from support of demands submitted by the students. In this connection, (Fedor Syderskiy), representing the people's deputies who are on the hunger strike, made this statement:

"[(Syderskiy)] We, hunger striking deputies, address you with the following demands: First, to give a status of law to the declaration on state sovereignty of the Ukraine; second, to fulfill all the students' demands.

"We declare that we will stand with the students to the very end, leaving for ourselves the right for more radical measures. We inform you that People's Deputy (Kolymets) was taken by ambulance to hospital from the tent camp. Signed by People's Deputies (Zayko), (Syderskiy), (Hmara), (Hutyma) and (Vorokhitskiy)."

[Announcer] The statement made by (Fedor Syderskiy), one of the deputies who was on the hunger strike, was evaluated by the majority of parliamentarians as pressure on the session. In fact, the demands of students were supplemented by additional ones, which could interfere with the course of the session's work. The matter is that the demands advanced by the students and their supporter are pressing, but they need a certain period of time to be solved. The parliament has no time.

Moreover, some of the deputies, by their maximalism, want to gain additional political dividends. In such conditions, the Supreme Soviet would be forced to involve itself in idle discussions instead of fruitful work.

As far as we know, the students are also against the newly advanced demands. Recently, they agreed to a compromise. They started negotiations with members of the conciliatory commission set up yesterday by the Supreme Soviet. The commission consists of five representatives of the parliament majority and five of the minority. Together with them delegated was the member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Ivan Plyushch. Information on the course of the talks was given by member of the commission, (Aleksandr Moroz):

"[(Moroz)] Yesterday, right after the evening sitting of the session, the commission analyzed all the issues advanced by the students, in the light of decisions adopted at the session. The majority of the issues raised by the students are being discussed by the Supreme Soviet. Several of them have almost been solved, several of them have been put on the agenda.

"The commission has prepared a draft resolution on this issue, but one of the issues is not in the competence of the conciliatory commission and, in general, of the entire session. This issue concerns the head of government and is only under the competence of, exclusively, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

"On behalf of the commission, I would like to ask the chairman of the Supreme Soviet whether or not he had talks with Vitaliy Masol on this issue, and, if not, then what is his personal stance?"

[Announcer] The question asked was direct and honest. It concerned the demand of the hunger strike students on the resignation of the present prime minister of the Ukraine, Vitaliy Masol.

Is the resignation possible at the present time? Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, said:

[Kravchuk]" I spoke to Vitaliy Masol on this issue, and yesterday evening we also had a long discussion right after the session. We came to the conclusion that Vitaliy Masol will hand in his resignation. [applause]"

[Announcer] This applause spoke for itself. The head of the Council of Ministers of the republic, Vitaliy Masol, took a principled stand in this complicated situation, which objectively demands a weighed decision from him. His resignation lifted one of the demands of the students who are waging a hunger strike.

Today, the conciliatory commission continued talks with representatives of the hunger strike students as to concrete ways of solving all demands. [passage omitted]

At the end of the evening's plenary sitting, the participants of the session heard a draft decision of the Supreme Soviet concerning the demands of the striking students. This document was prepared by the conciliatory commission:

First, on holding new elections, to hold a nationwide voting referendum in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] in 1991 on a vote of confidence to the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation, and proceeding from its results resolve an issue on holding new elections by the end of the year;

Second, by 31 December 1990, to adopt a law on carrying military service by Ukrainian citizens on the territory of the republic, a law on an alternative military service, as well as to form the corresponding state bodies;

Third, on the nationalization of the property of the Soviet Communist Party and the Young Communist League on the territory of the Ukraine, to set up by 1 December 1990 a provisional commission of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on this issue;

Fourth, on a Union treaty, to direct all efforts of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet at stabilizing of the political and economic situation in the republic, at building a legal, sovereign Ukrainian state, at adopting a new constitution of the republic and until this is reached to consider it premature to sign a Union treaty;

Fifth, on the resignation of the Ukrainian SSR prime minister, to take into consideration the information of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, Leonid Kravchuk, made on 17 October 1990 concerning the resignation of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, Vitaliy Masol, and solve the issue within the order envisaged by Article 97/9 and Article 108/4 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution;

Sixth, with the aim of creating a legal basis for fulfilling this decison, to bring by 30 November 1990 the acting constitution of the Ukrainian SSR to conformity with the provisions of the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Ukraine.

Legislature Meets Demands

LD1810071990 Moscow TASS in English 0605 GMT 18 Oct 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev October 17 TASS—The Ukrainian parliament today adopted a resolution proposed by a conciliatory commission, set up on Tuesday, to settle a conflict with students from the republic's cities who went on a hunger strike on October 2.

The commission included five representatives from the parliamentary majority, the same number from the parliamentary opposition and the first deputy president of the Republican Parliament. The resolution was worked out by consensus, after the commission discussed all the students' demands with the participation of their representatives.

An absolute majority of deputies voted for the document, reflecting all the students' demands. The students demanded that the republican prime minister resign, a law on republic's citizens military service only on republican territory be adopted, the property of the Soviet Communist Party and the Komsomol be nationalised on republican territory and new elections to parliament be held on a multiparty basis.

The resolution notes that Ukrainian citizens may serve beyond the republic's borders only on a voluntary basis. It is found untimely to sign a Union treaty before a new Ukrainian constitution is adopted.

The parliament decided to discuss conclusions by the Republican Ministry of Justice and the state arbitration on the nationalisation of the property of the Soviet Communist Party and the Komsomol and set up a parliamentary interim commission on the issue by December 1.

The resolution envisagse holding a republican referendum of confidence to the parliament in 1991. The referendum will resolve the issue of holding new elections.

As for the resignation of Republican Prime Minister Vitaliy Masol, the parliament decided to take into consideration the statement by president of the Ukrainian Parliament Leonid Kravchuk that the prime minister will resign, and the issue should be discussed in accordance with the Constitution.

PRAVDA Reviews Session

PM1710155590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov under the general heading: "Noose. What Is Happening in Kiev"]

[Text] The members of the presidium of supreme soviet who gathered for the morning sitting proposed making changes to the agenda and devoting it to a discussion of the demands advanced by students.

Despite the chairman's now customary appeals and attempts to persuade them to take the acuteness of the situation into account and not to stoke the already alarming atmosphere, an open confrontation began in the hall from the very first minutes. A statement from the group of People's Council deputies, including those who have sided with the hunger strikers, was read out repeating the demands of the residents of the tent city. A statement signed by 123 people's deputies, sharply critical of the opposition's actions, was also read out from the rostrum. There was uproar and shouting in the hall, and ultimatum-like demands were heard time and again. The auditorium just could not agree on whether to discuss all the points of the students' demands, including those on which the Supreme Soviet has adopted decisions, or only those envisaged by the agenda for a later date.

Toward the end of the first hour a number of deputies representing the People's Council carried out a decision adopted earlier and left the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet in order to go onto the Kreshchatik and head an impressive column of students making for the parliament building.

The bulk of the session participants continued the work. Since the question of confidence in the government had been removed earlier, and the session had already adopted a decision on the performance of military service by citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, they then discussed the refusal to sign a Union treaty, the nationalization of CPSU and Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] property on Ukrainian territory, the dissolution of parliament, and the holding of new elections on a multiparty basis.

It was decided to examine the question of signing the treaty after the proclamation of the new Ukrainian SSR Constitution.

The Ukrainian SSR State Court of Arbitration and the republic's Committee on the Economy were entrusted with studying the demand for the nationalization of CPSU and Komsomol property. As for the dissolution of parliament, the discussion of this issue had to be suspended.

The column of demonstrators which stopped outside the building substantially aggravated the atmosphere in the session hall. The most zealous of them climbed onto the roof of one of the legislatiure's buildings with yellow-and-blue and black-and-red Bandera flags. On returning to their seats from the street, the People's Council representatives began demanding almost that the work of the Supreme Soviet be transferred to the square and that questions be decided together with the students: With several thousand simultaneously? There is no denying that it would be a stunning innovation in legislative practice!

Representatives of the students on hunger strike were invited into the hall, and one of them was allowed to speak. However, the tension did not diminish.

The question of the dissolution of the legislature raised by the students, was also examined at the evening sitting. More than 290 deputies voted against it. The proposal to hold a referendum on the question of confidence in parliament did not get through either.

Assessing the debate which had taken place, its participants protested strongly at pressure on the republic Supreme Soviet from any quarter whatever. We cannot and will not, they said, adopt decisions and laws under strong-arm pressure. It is time to dissociate ourselves decisively at last from those who provoke crisis situations. In-depth study of the question and a sensible dialogue must become a firm law of the legislature's work. Only then will it be possible to prevent a drop in the prestige of parliament, and we should show concern for this without delay.

After lengthy debate a conciliation commission was set up at yesterday evening's sitting of the Ukrainian legislature. To judge from the ongoing student demonstrations, it is faced with great work.

Yazov Meets Ukrainian Legislators on Service

LD1810133890 Kiev International Service in English 0001 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] A group of Ukrainian parliamentarians has met with USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov in Moscow.

The main goal of the meeting was to solve the problems of returning of Ukrainian people who serve in the Soviet Army to the territory of the Ukraine, which is now a sovereign republic. The USSR defense minister again spoke out for a single Union army and against republican formations, against returning Ukrainian soldiers to the Ukraine.

The statement evoked a sharp protest on the part of the delegation.

Ukrainian Troops' Harvesting Efforts Praised

PM1710145990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel L. Teplov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "While Some People Are Attending Rallies"]

[Text] Lvov—Soldiers from the Carpathians are bringing in the harvest. Over the last few days there has been a considerable amount of discussion in the Ukraine about the Armed Forces. What names they are called, what demands are made at rallies! But there is no time for servicemen to listen to these speeches at present. Currently, enlisted men, NCO's, and students from military schools are working in the fields.

Last Saturday and Sunday alone they brought in 10 tonnes of carrots, 15 tonnes of sugar beets, 138 tonnes of potatoes, 3.5 tonnes of onions, and 34.5 tonnes of cabbages in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast.

For almost two weeks roughly 300 students from Lvov Firefighting Technical School have worked on the oblast's rural fields. They have tens of tonnes of harvested potatoes, cabbages, and onions to their credit.

I recently walked around the city. Young people were walking side by side along the sidewalk, carrying banners, angrily stigmatizing Ukrainian leaders and demanding their resignation. They were strapping, healthy lads, rushing off to another rally. While trucks loaded with potatoes and vegetables rushed along the highway one after the other. It struck me then that some people were rushing off to a rally, while others were trying to rescue the harvest.

Donetsk Authority Denies Troop Deployment Rumors

LD1710170590 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Excerpt] The authorities in Donetsk have officially straightened out rumors about the stationing of rapid deployment forces in the suburbs of the town. Colonel Hovolenko, a representative of the town's internal affairs administration, stated that the report about the deployment of such forces was based on unverified facts.

Meanwhile at a meeting of strike committees in Donetsk, the question of holding an all-Ukrainian political strike was once again considered. Only individual labor kollektivs took part in the warning strike in September. [passage omitted]

Ukraine's Plyushch Says Union Treaty 'Premature'

LD1710164390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 17 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The students' political hunger strike is continuing in Kiev. They are demanding the government's resignation and the acceleration of political and economic reforms. These events have delayed somewhat the discussion on signing a union treaty.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] And so, Ivan Stepanovich [Plyushch] all of us in the country are now interested in whether the republics, and our Ukraine, will sign the Union treaty. What is the position and the tactics of the Supreme Soviet in this matter?

[Plyushch] On behalf of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, we made a statement on the eve of the second session of the Supreme Soviet, and this statement was addressed to the people of the Ukraine. This statement said, among other things, that the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and all deputies, will currently concentrate their efforts on stabilizing the state of the economy in the republic, on building a sovereign state of the Ukraine, and on adopting a new Ukrainian constitution. Until these documents are elaborated and adopted, we consider the conclusion of a Union treaty premature. And so, there are no grounds for expressing a different position today. The presidium holds this view at present, but it has not been examined at the Supreme Soviet.

[Correspondent] Perhaps the question should be raised in broader terms, not on concluding a treaty, but simply on the fate of the Union? To be or not to be?

[Plyushch] Well, I think that there will be a Union. To say today that the Union will be as it used to be, that's a definite no. There cannot be such a Union. But even without a Union, primarily an economic union, even without its existing, it is not even possible to stabilize the economic situation in the near future. And so, it is easy to destroy all these economic links, but it will be much more difficult to restore them. But I have in mind links between entrepreneurs, between enterprises, between rayons, towns, oblasts and republics. When we get our act together in these horizontal links, then we can say what kind of union we need. [end recording]

Private Newspaper Begins Publication in Vinnitsa

PM1810081290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 3

[INTERFAX report: "First Private Newspaper in Vinnitsa"]

[Text] The first private newspaper—VINNITSKIYE IZVESTIYA—has been registered in Vinnitsa. It will appear several times a month. It resembles ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in volume, size, and format. "We intend to struggle for the further democratization of society," engineer Ivan Mikhalchuk, the newspaper's founder, told the INTERFAX correspondent. "Real freedom of speech will be possible only when publications independent of the authorities and the Communist Party operate."

Ukrainian Greens Form Political Party

91UN0064A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 3 Oct 90 p 2

[Report by UKRINFORM correspondents A. Belov, Yu. Zabolotnyy: "The Ukraine's 'Greens' Have United in a Party"]

[Text] The first constituent congress of the Ukrainian Green Party (PZU) has been held in Kiev. For three days, 28-30 September, 150 delegates representing active regional organizations of 20 oblasts of the republic discussed and then adopted the PZU Program and Rules. Three alternative drafts of these documents were presented to the congress for consideration.

The idea of the formation of such a party arose back in October 1989 in the most radical wing of the "Green World" Ukrainian environmental association. The formation of a political party, its sponsors say, by no means signifies a split in "Green World," which remains and operates as a broad nonpolitical public association.

The newly formed PZU proclaims itself a party of democratic persuasion that will strive for the achievement of the real state independence of the Ukraine as a full member of the United Nations and the embodiment in practice of the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Ukraine. In the process of building a state based on the rule of law, the PZU will employ nonviolent methods of political struggle: picketing, mass meetings, demonstrations and strikes.

Its program provides for legislative support for the equality of all forms of ownership, the demonopolization and decentralization of the economy and the privatization of a large part thereof, the creation of a mechanism of protection of the least protected social strata of the population, the elaboration of national and regional programs of land tenure and the revival of free peasant farms. It will strive to assure the rights of the individual in relations with official institutions, protect man against all types of interference in his private life, assist the strengthening of the family, establish the cult of the mother and revive the spirituality of the Ukrainian people, and advocate freedom of religion and the equality of all creeds.

The party sets as its goal recovery and protection of the natural environment and man against the baneful effect of technogenic and other destructive factors, a ban on nuclear power, and the conversion of the Ukraine into a nuclear-free zone. The PZU will participate in the world and European environmental movement.

Structurally, the PZU will be a horizontal-type organization with minimal jurisdiction for the central authorities.

The congress elected the party's directive bodies. The writer Yu.N. Shcherbak, people's deputy of the USSR, is leader of the PZU.

Answering the UKRINFORM correspondents' questions concerning the first steps of the PZU's activity, its leader, Yu.N. Shcherbak, said that these were primarily to organize political clubs of the party in all parts of the Ukraine and determine a specific action strategy. This means that at all levels—from the local soviets through the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet—we will present legislative proposals pertaining to an improvement in the ecological situation in various regions of the Ukraine.

We are taking a break in the work of the first constituent congress, and it will reassemble next spring, in Ternopol. And then we will replace the temporary structures with permanent ones and determine the most important directions of the party's activity. As distinct from "Green World," the PZU will involve itself in more than just ecological policy. It has a broader view of itself on the Ukraine's political landscape, that is, it will define its attitude toward all the acute political problems of the present day such as economic and political reform, political development in the Ukraine, the Union treaty and so forth. We will operate as a full-fledged parliamentary-type political party.

During the congress, at the T. Shevchenko memorial in the park, its participants staged the symbolic burial of a model of a nuclear power station and planted a young oak tree.

Lvov Political, Social Groups Publish Appeal

PM1810112890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Stepan Troyan dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "First Step to Accord"]

[Text] As a result of the first meeting of representatives of all political and social formations in the Lvov City Soviet of People's Deputies—which, as is known, is now headed by supporters of the democratic bloc—an appeal to the city's citizens was published in its newspaper RATUSHA, which has only just started coming out.

The adopted document stresses in particular that many acute problems have emerged at the juncture between the past and the future. These are leading to unsanctioned rallies, street marches, and pickets. Group egoism is being manifested increasingly frequently in such acts and even personal ambitions and benefits for certain individuals can be discerned in them. What is particularly necessary today and tomorrow is a high level of organization, self-restraint, steadiness, and mutual understanding. The appeal states specifically that the actions of true patriots must have a legal basis.

Leaders of the city party committees and organizations, who include leaders of the Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom [city committee], declared their readiness in this difficult situation to help the democratically elected Lvov soviets of people's deputies in their desire to achieve economic and political stability, not to resort to acts aimed at the disruption of vitally important sectors of the national economy, and to form a united front against possible manifestations of ethnic hostility.

A coordination council of Lvov political parties and social organizations will be created under the auspices of the city organ of power. All controversial questions will be examined beforehand at sessions of this new subdivision's conciliation commission. The Ukrainian Communist Party Gorkom and the leaders of the local organizations of the new parties—the republican, national, and social democratic parties, and numerous alliances, clubs, and fellowships did not share the viewpoint of the Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [oblast party committee], which believes that interethnic relations have become exacerbated in the region.

One would like to believe that the needle on the political barometer has started moving from "overcast" to "clear" and that relations between the people who came to power as a result of democratic elections and a party apparatus accustomed to a monopoly of the right to absolute truth, which were damaged in the past few months, are being normalized.

Ukraine, Belorussia Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD1810053590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1707 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By Ukrinform-TASS correspondent Viktor Demidenko]

[Text] Kiev, 17 Oct (Ukrinform-TASS)—Negotiations between delegations of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Belorussian SSR, headed by the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the two republics, Leonid Kravchuk and Nikolay Dementey, took place here today. They signed a joint statement that says, in particular, that using age-long traditions of fraternity and mutual assistance as a basis, and assessing the political and socioeconomic situation in both republics realistically, the Ukraine and Belorussia express their confidence in the need to strengthen further mutually beneficial political, economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation between them as between two sovereign states.

An agreement on commercial, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation between the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR was signed as well.

In a conversation with a Ukrinform-TASS correspondent, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR noted that these agreements will prevail over agreements—including Union agreements—that impede cooperation. Agreements will be implemented without any middlemen, and without the center's participation. It is planned to develop contacts in the horizontal direction—among enterprises of the two republics—on a voluntarily basis. "There are difficulties in defining the equivalent exchange, but I think, we will find common language here as well," he stressed. The main thing is to make people feel that two sovereign countries reached economic relations.

The chairman of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet drew attention to the fact that for a long time deliveries of foodstuffs, goods, and all commodity values into republics have been carried out on the command and administrative basis. "Nowadays, it is becoming a thing of the past; republics' economic independence is becoming stronger," he said, "and mutual understanding and mutual benefits are coming to the foreground." Our ties will become the first example of a real transition to market relations—an example of how we reject the command and administrative system and go over to a direct contractual relationship.

Ukrainian Rukh, Moldavian Popular Movements Meet

LD1810052190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By Moldova-Pres-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 17 Oct (Moldova-Pres - TASS)—At a meeting that took place in Kiev, representatives of the

People's Front of Moldova [Moldavia] and the Ukraine's Rukh came to the view that it is necessary to set up bilateral commissions for defending the rights of the Ukrainian minority in Moldova and the Romanian ministry in the Ukraine, Yuriy Roshka, leader of the delegation of the People's Front of Moldova and first vice chairman of the Front's Council, told the Moldova-Pres correspondents.

In the course of the dialogue, an interesting exchange of views took place on the social and political situation in both republics and the activity of the two popular movements, aimed at attaining Moldova's and the Ukraine's state independence.

Rukh representatives, Yuriy Roshka noted, refuted rumors alleging that they support the separatist tendencies that manifest themselves in the sovereign Republic of Moldova.

With regard to the problem of territories existing between the republics, Yuriy Roshka said, both sides stressed that the main task of popular movements at the current stage consists in preventing the use of this territorial dispute for starting up any conflict, as it can distract and bring to naught the efforts of democratic forces aimed at attaining state independence.

People's Front Rejects USSR Decree on Parades

LD1710185490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] The Moldavian People's Front has addressed a declaration to republican President Snegur, the Moldovan [Moldavian] legislature, and the Kishinev municipal council. It says that the decree of the USSR president on the holding of military parades to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution flouts the rights of the sovereign republic of Moldavia. The intention to hold a military parade in Kishinev, the declaration says, could lead to unpredictable consequences.

Fire Destroys Moldavian Press Offices 17 Oct

LD1810115190 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Kishinev October 18 TASS—The editorial offices of several Moldavian newspapers and magazines were gutted by a blaze that broke out on the fifth floor of the Press House in Kishinev on Wednesday [17 Oct].

The Moldavian Interior Ministry has begun an investigation.

An Interior Ministry official told TASS that he did not rule out arson.

The newspapers hit by the blaze include MOLODEZH MOLDOVY (YOUTH OF MOLDAVIA), which had more than once been threatened by "groups of readers" for the publication of materials they did not like. After the newspaper's editorial office was raided by such a group several weeks ago, its staff went on strike, which they planned to end in the coming few days, the newspaper's editor-in-chief told TASS.

Moldavian Decree Examines Results of Deputy Work

91UN0055A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA in Russian 11 Sep 90 p 1

["Decree of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet on the Results of Moldova SSR People's Deputies Work Groups in Several Cities and Rayons of the Republic"]

[Text] Having heard and discussed information on the results of Moldova [Moldavia] Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] people's deputies work groups in several cities and rayons of the republic, the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. On the basis of the proposals and remarks expressed by Moldova SSR people's deputies concerning the results of their work, to charge the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Moldova SSR Government with devising within the next ten days a comprehensive program of political, socioeconomic, and cultural measures directed at stabilizing the social and political situation in the republic.

2. To oblige the organizers of the congresses of people's deputies of all levels from the territories densely inhabited by the Gagauz population and from a number of rayons and cities of the Dnestr region, as well as leaders of provisional organs illegally formed by these congresses to review within the next five days the anticonstitutional rulings that have been adopted and to repeal them, informing the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet when this has been done.

The Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet calls upon the entire people of the republic, state and public organizations, and political parties and movements to refuse to take part in rallies, referendums, congresses, and other measures that are conducted in violation of the demands of the law and that do not contribute to efforts to achieve civil and interethnic accord and consolidation of the unity and integrity of the Republic of Moldova.

[Signed] A. Monashu, Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet chairman.
[Dated] Kishinev, 8 September 1990

Ukase on Moldavian Press Material Published

91Un0055B Kishinev MOLDOVA SUVERANE in Russian No 3-4, 14 Sep 90 p 1

["Ukase of the Moldova SSR President on the Newspaper MOLDOVA SUVERANE"]

[Text] With the goal of ensuring that the population is widely and objectively informed, taking into account requests expressed in the speeches of deputies at the special session of the Moldova [Moldavia] Soviet

Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, and in accordance with the 31 August 1989 Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet decree "On a Procedure for Implementing the Moldova SSR Law 'On Returning Latin Script to the Moldavian Language,'" I decree:

1. Taking into account the wishes of subscribers, to print the newspaper of the Supreme Soviet and Moldova SSR Government, MOLDOVA SUVERANE, in both Latin and Russian script during the transition period.

2. To publish twice a week a supplemental digest to the newspaper MOLDOVA SUVERANE for Russian-speaking readers.

3. To send subscribers free of charge the supplemental digest in Russian as part of the newspapers SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA, VECHERNIY KISHINEV, AND MOLODEZH MOLDAVII until 31 December 1990 and, starting 1 January 1991, to offer it by subscription and sell it on a retail basis.

4. For the government of the republic to provide the newspaper MOLDOVA SUVERANE with personnel, paper, and additional monetary assets.

5. For the "Universul" publishing house to guarantee efficient, high-quality publication of the newspaper MOLDOVA SUVERANE and of the supplement to it.

6. To oblige the Ministry of Information Science, Information, and Communications to carry out an active subscription drive for the aforementioned publications and ensure that they are distributed.

[Signed] M. Snegur, Moldova SSR president.
[Dated] Kishinev, 12 September 1990.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Appeals for Draft

PM1710150090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel A. Smolyanko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "We Will Defend Our Home"]

[Text] Minsk—Antiarmy sentiments have begun lately to increase in Belorussia and a campaign has been mounted to wreck the fall draft into the Army. Pamphlets are being circulated urging young people not to turn up at the draft stations, not to obey the laws, and to serve only in Belorussia.

In this connection the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has deemed it necessary to adopt an appeal to the republic's citizens. It says, in particular, that the Belorussian people need armed protection against all manner of unforeseen circumstances and conflicts. The older generation well remember the tragic days of 1941 and the tears of joy shed by the inhabitants of the cities and villages liberated from fascist servitude by the Soviet Army.

The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium expressed confidence that the Belorussian people will not allow the prestige of the Armed Forces to be undermined or the unity of Army and people to waver, and will do everything to ensure that the fall draft takes place in an orderly manner. "It is the sacred duty of every citizen of the republic to defend our common home," this appeal says in conclusion.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Discusses Defense

LD1710121490 Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian 0515 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Alena Shvayko from the Belorussian Supreme Soviet]

[Excerpts] One could not call yesterday's session of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet fruitful. The deputies could not examine even a single draft bill. I think that all this derives from a complex dead-end situation in which the parliament found itself on Monday.

Various deputy groups then came out with an identical proposal: to interrupt the plenary session and hold a consultation between the opposition and other deputy groups in order to find a way out. As a result, a certain consensus was achieved. [passage omitted]

However, the decision to suspend the plenary session was not adopted. When the deputies' emotions had quieted down they returned to drawing up the agenda—actually adding more points. A decision was adopted to bring to the top of the list a draft on Belorussian citizenship and to tackle it immediately.

The following points were added to the agenda: a draft bill on banks and the banking system; a draft decree on power; protection of the consumer market within the republic; and some other points.

Great attention was paid to the so-called hot questions. One of them is the creation of a Belorussian commission for defense and national security of the Belorussian SSR.

Belorussia's Grodno Obkom Reelects Leader

PM1810082990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[BELTA-TASS report: "Party Conference Held"]

[Text] Grodno, 13 Oct—The 22d oblast party conference ended today: Its first stage was held in June. This time delegates discussed the Communist Party of Belorussia oblast committee's report on the course of perestroyka and the oblast party organization's tasks in implementing the 28th CPSU Congress decisions and heard a report from its auditing commission.

By secret ballot the conference reelected V.M. Semenov first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia oblast committee.

The conference was addressed by B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission.

Caucasus

Coverage of Armenian Supreme Soviet Proceedings

October Revolution Parade Banned

LD1810102390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 GMT 18 Oct 90

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Oct (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—The 73rd anniversary of the October Revolution will not be marked by a military parade in the Armenian capital.

This decision has been adopted by the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. In the opinion of deputies, the decision takes account of the current situation in Armenia and the wishes of its citizens.

Military Service Law Suspended

LD1710190290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1704 GMT 17 Oct 90

[By ARMENPRES-TASS correspondents Gerri Galustyan and Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Oct (TASS)—A draft resolution suspending the operation of the all-Union law "On Universal Compulsory Military Service" was adopted at today's session of the supreme soviet of the Republic of Armenia. This decision was adopted after lengthy discussion of the issue of the conscription of Armenian young men for full-time service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces during the fall call-up this year. The draft resolution, which was presented by the legislature's commission on defense and national security matters, envisages that young men who are conscripted will carry out their military service on the territory of Armenia.

Armenia's legislature also adopted a resolution today which declares illegal the arrest of Roles Agadzhanyan and Gamlet Grigoryan, people's deputies of the Republic of Armenia, in Stepanakert in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Their arrest is described as being contrary to the Constitutions and relevant laws of the USSR and the Republic of Armenia.

Placing the responsibility for this action upon the central authorities, the Armenian legislature insists that the USSR president take measures for their immediate release.

After the adoption of these two documents, the Armenian legislature also made changes to the republic's constitution in connection with the adoption of the law "on the election of people's deputies to local soviets." The hearing and the discussion of the law on property has been deferred to further sessions which will take place at the beginning of next week.

Resolution on Detained Deputies

NC1710140990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Excerpts] As you already know, yesterday's session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet discussed the draft resolution presented by the Legal Affairs Commission on the detention of two Armenian Supreme Soviet deputies from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and asked for its further elaboration.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairman Gagik Arutyunyan, who was chairing this morning's session, reported that the Supreme Soviet Presidium met yesterday evening and discussed the situation in the republic, developments in Artsakh [NKAO], and the detention of the two people's deputies. The presidium also endorsed a draft resolution which was read out at the session by People's Deputy Huys Paroyan:

[Begin Paroyan recording] Armenian Supreme Soviet People's Deputies Roles Agadzhanyan and Hamlet Grigoryan were detained on 9 and 10 October in Stepanakert in the NKAO without the consent of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. Such a bizzare incident conflicts with the constitutions of the USSR and the Armenian Republic and with the law on the status of people's deputies of the USSR and Armenia under which the [words indistinct] people's deputies enjoy immunity throughout the USSR.

The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet regards this illegal act as a crude violation of the Armenian Republic's sovereignty and of human rights, through which the central autorities seek to destabilize the political situation in the region, obstruct the course of democtratic reform, and restore administrative-command methods.

Such acts confirm that the central authorities are trying yet again to (?disregard) the Union republics and experiment with totalitarian methods in the region as was revealed by the [words indistinct] instigations of clashes.

The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To demand from USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev that he take measures to secure the immediate release of illegally detained Armenian People's Deputies Roles Gevorgovich Agadzhanyan and Hamlet Vagarshakovich Grigoryan and bring those responsible for the illegal detention to account.

2. To form a commission of deputies of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to study the issues related to the illegal detention of Armenian People's Deputies Roles Agadzhanyan and Hamlet Grigoryan.

3. To hold the USSR president fully responsible for the consequences of the failure to prevent the illegal act committed against the Armenian People's Deputies Roles Agadzhanyan and Hamlet Grigoryan.

4. To draw the attention of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic]

to this issue and ask it to express its opinion on the illegal detentions in view of the fact that the detained deputies have been transferred to the Russian Federation.

5. To recall to Yerevan all USSR people's deputies from Armenia who are now in Moscow for political consultations in view of the illegal encroachments on the republic's Supreme Soviet by the Armed Forces of the union, and because of the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the country have displayed their inability to intervene effectively to lift the almost two-month-long gas blockade which has been disastrous for the republic.

6) To forward this decision to the supreme soviets of all union republics and to the city soviets of Moscow and Leningrad. [end recording]

The deputies discussed this draft resolution and asked for its further elaboration. The session then continued to debate amendments to the law on elections for local soviets. [passage omitted] The session passed a relevant decision concerning the introduction of amendments to the law on elections for local soviets.

As was mentioned above, at the morning session the deputies had asked for the further elaboration of the draft resolution concerning the detention of the two deputies. This draft resolution was again submitted for debate [at the evening session] and after partial amendments it was endorsed.

The deputies then discussed other items on the agenda.

As the debate of the agenda set for the two days has not been completed, it was decided to continue the session tomorrow.

Armenian Newspaper Established

PM1810083390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Sergey Bablumyan under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Armenian Parliament's Paper"]

[Text] Yerevan—The first issue of the Armenian Supreme Soviet social and political newspaper RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA has been published.

The birth of the new daily was hastened by events that were tumultuously debated at the Supreme Soviet session. The thing is that two republican papers, AYASTAN and GOLOS ARMENII, mass publications under the general auspices of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and republican Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers, together switched to sole Central Committee ownership unexpectedly and without explanation. Deputies described it as an arbitrary act that does not contribute to the consolidation of society. It was then that they decided to found their own publication.

Now we have the first issue of the parliamentary newspaper. It includes a conversation with Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan, a chronicle of the republican parliament's formation, and current information.

RESPUBLIKA ARMENIYA is published in Armenian and Russian.

More Shootings, Protests Reported in Yerevan

LD1610175490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Text] Unfortunately, although the period set by the USSR president's decree on the prohibition of armed formations not provided for by USSR legislation and on the confiscation of illegally kept weapons has expired, the overwhelming majority of firearms stolen in the republic remains with the guerillas. And they are using them repeatedly.

In the past few days, there have been several armed attacks. On 14 October in the 26 Commissars Rayon of Yerevan City, automatic fire was directed at militia officers who had come to deal with hooligan activities. Two were wounded and one died as a result. The criminals disappeared in a Moskvich car. An investigation is under way. On 15 October a military post was fired on by two unknown persons in the area of Erebuni Airport. The attackers escaped in a RAF [expansion unknown] vehicle. There were no casualties.

People are still being passionately incited against the Army. A group of people held a sit-in demonstration outside the Supreme Soviet building with slogans reading: Occupiers out of Armenia; and Ivan go home. The leadership of the Armenian National Movement has said that the demonstration was the handiwork of former members of the Armenian National Army and called it provocative.

Armenia To Introduce Food, Tobacco Rationing

LD1710180190 Moscow World Service in Russian 1030 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] According to INTERFAX, the Armenian Council of Ministers has decided to introduce a new procedure in the republic on 1 November this year for the sale of some foodstuffs. Groats, cheese, and tobacco items will be distributed to the population on a coupon basis. The government has been forced to turn to this form of selling with the aim of stabilizing the extremely tense situation that has come about in the consumer market.

Armenia To Introduce Power-Saving Measures

NC1610122990 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 16 Oct 90

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] In view of the prevailing acute power shortage, a consultative meeting devoted to the operational problems of Armenia's industrial enterprises and organizations took place at the Armenian Council of Ministers. It was attended by the directors of the Hayenergo and Hayartgas production associations and representatives of ministerial departments, industrial enterprises, and organizations.

A statement issued after the meeting notes that the participants were instructed to draw up a (?work) schedule which is to be introduced in the relevant enterprises and organizations as of 1 November. Where possible, night shifts should be organized so that electrical power can be saved and more rationally distributed.

Iran's Nurbakhsh Meets With Azerbaijan's Mutalibov

LD1710215790 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 2030 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] Mr. Nurbakhsh, minister of economic affairs and finance, who is in Soviet Azerbaijan at the head of an economic delegation, met Mr. Ayaz Mutalibov, president of that republic, shortly before noon on Wednesday.

According to a report by Baku television, the president of Soviet Azerbaijan, referring to the economic reforms accomplished in the USSR, called for the expansion of cooperation between Iran and the USSR.

Mr. Nurbakhsh, meanwhile, thanked the people of Soviet Azerbaijan for their help for the Iranian earthquake victims and said that the expansion of ties between Iran and the USSR, especially with Soviet Azerbaijan, is among the most important economic policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Azerbaijan Election Results, Runoffs Reported

PM1510142590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Asim Dzhalilov under "Direct Line" rubric: "Elections Will Continue"]

[Excerpts] Baku—It was all of six days after the elections to the republic parliament and the local soviets of people's deputies before it became known that there would be runoffs and new elections in a number of districts. [passage omitted]

Candidates from the "Democratic Azerbaijan" bloc won 25 seats, although 231 candidates from the democrats participated in the fight for deputies' mandates. The number of ordinary employees, workers, and representatives of the peasantry, as well as teachers and journalists, in the lists of parliamentarians is small.

Runoffs and elections of deputies will be held 14 October and 16 December of this year in 109 districts.

Georgian City Party Paper Goes Independent

PM1710161390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[INTERFAX report: "KUTAISI Has Left the Party"]

[Text] A Georgian Communist Party city committee [gorkom] organ—KUTAISI—has become a nonparty sociopolitical publication at the request of the editorial office collective and with the [presumably Kutaisi] gorkom's consent. INTERFAX's correspondent reports that the depoliticization of the press is causing virtually no conflicts in Georgia.

Central Asia

'Democratic Kazakhstan' Group Talks to Press

PM1810082490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Ardayev under the rubric "Direct Link": "Faction's Own Opinion"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The "Democratic Kazakhstan" deputies' group of the republic Supreme Soviet, which was formed one month ago, has held its first news conference.

Members of the faction's organizing committee explained that their group was formed because of dissatisfaction with the progress and results of the first session of the new republican parliament held in April-May. In their opinion, the organization of the session's work did not promote the free and democratic expression of the deputies' will. The faction's strategic aim is to "turn the republic into a civilian society underpinned by a market economy and protected by a rule-of-law state."

The members of "Democratic Kazakhstan" expressed bewilderment at the claim made on Kazakh television the previous day by Z. Fedotova, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, that the Supreme Soviet Presidium knew nothing of their group's existence because they regularly inform the leaders of parliament about their activities. They also voiced discontent at the lawmaking practice which has taken shape in the republic—in particular, at the fact that the overwhelming majority of members of standing commissions and committees first saw the draft declaration of the republic's state sovereignty prepared by a working group of the Supreme Soviet Presidium when it was published in the press, whereas in their opinion such an important document should definitely have been discussed in commissions and committees.

Kirghiz Movement Drafts Sovereignty Proposal

LD1610163690 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT 16 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Frunze October 16 TASS—Kyrgyzstan, a Kirghiz movement, countered a parliamentary draft declaration on the republic's state sovereignty with its own document which provoked a stormy debate among Kirghiz citizens.

In contrast to the Kirghiz parliamentary draft proclaiming Kirghizia a socialist multinational state, the alternative document suggests that "a free, democratic, legal and parliamentary state" called "the Republic of Kyrgyzstan" be established.

The parliamentary draft provides for the establishment of Kirghiz citizenship, guaranteeing every citizen the right to preserve Soviet citizenship. Kyrgyzstan advocates only republican citizenship.

The parliamentary document says nothing about the protection of borders and military service, delegating these rights to the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the movement suggests that its own interior troops and security forces be established, and even its own army, if need be.

The movement's draft says nothing about the protection of honour, national dignity and the development of other ethnic communities, apart from Kirghiz people.

Deputies to the Kirghiz parliament who will sit in session late in October to decide which draft should be approved. [sentence as received]

Dushanbe Disturbance Organizer Sentenced

LD1710205190 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe October 17 TASS—A trial of one of the organisers of disturbances in Dushanbe in February ended here today. Azamatullo Boyev, 30, was sentenced to four years imprisonment on charges of organising unsanctioned meetings in the Tajik Capital which led to bloodshed, pogroms and calls "to clean Tajik soil of all infidels" and to set up an Islamic state.

"Boyev cannot be forgiven because by sowing strife amongst the people, he used sacred mosques for his God-hating schemes, preached on behalf of Muhammad," one of the priests, who was a witness for the prosecution, told the court.

Trials of organisers of the February disturbances continue in Tajikistan. Seventy-nine people have already been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Turkmenistan Plans Transfer to Market Economy

LD1410165690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 14 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A concept of economic sovereignty and a program for transition to the market have been drawn up in Turkmenistan. These documents, which were approved by the third session of the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia, state that the republic will conduct an independent price formation policy in accordance with the laws of a market economy. No simultaneous increase in prices of consumer goods is planned. Prices of goods and services forming the basis of families' subsistence are being frozen until the end of 1991. The program provides for introducing, on 1 January 1991, index-linking of the population's incomes. It is envisaged that joint stock societies will be set up on the basis of major enterprises in the fuel industry, power engineering, chemicals, machinebuilding, and the cotton complex, with a controlling package of shares remaining with the Republic.

Oil Supply Found in Turkmenistan Mountains

PM1610150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Oct 90 First Edition p 2

[Report by A. Yezerskiy under the rubric "Economic News": "From the Depths of the Karakum"]

[Text] Bakhardak settlement, Turkmen SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—A commercial supply of oil has been obtained from a depth of 3,400 meters at the Kyrk exploratory site, located in the Central Karakum 60 km west of this settlement.

This news is doubly joyful for the "Turkmenneft" association's Karakum exploratory drilling management collective because they have already discovered a number of gas sources in the Central Karakum. And now this commercial supply of oil has been obtained here for the first time and an application for possible development of the deposit has been made.

Turkish Culture Minister Visits Ashkhabad 16 Oct

LD1710110990 Ashkhabad Domestic Service in Turkmen 1545 GMT 16 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Today, Akhmedov, chairman of the Turkmenistan Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, received the Turkish delegation visiting Turkmenistan. The delegation is headed by Namik Kemal Zeybek, Turkish minister of culture. During the meeting views were exchanged on the question of expanding cultural cooperation. An agreement was reached on exchanging cultural workers and students, and preparing Turkmen exhibitions in Turkish firms. The Turkish side mentioned that they are ready to take part in the restoration of the Mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar. [passage omitted]

Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets

LD1710213290 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] In the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Due to an error in the publication of the draft law on citizenship of the

Uzbek SSR, Article 46 Section 7 on the oath of citizens of the Uzbek SSR was excluded. In connection with this, it is considered expedient on the whole to withdraw the draft law on citizenship of the Uzbek SSR from the agenda of the scheduled Supreme Soviet session to allow its completion in the committees of the Supreme Soviet, taking into consideration the incoming [word indistinct] and suggestions in the process of national discussion.

Uzbekistan Discusses Draft Economic Reform Bill

LD1710200790 Moscow TASS in English 1556 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Pruger]

[Text] Tashkent October 17 TASS—A draft plan for introducing a market in Uzbekistan was submitted for public discussion today. The plan stipulates that safeguards for low-income groups and the protection of the republic's interests in relations with the centre will be prioritised.

The programme provides for restructuring Uzbekistan's economic relations with the Soviet Union and other Soviet republics on an equal contractual basis. Uzbekistan now has sole authority over its natural resources, scientific, technical and production potential, and will be able to establish a just inter-republican exchange.

The republic plans to invoke its right to deal directly on the foreign market, thanks to its declaration on state sovereignty which provides a legal basis for this.

At the same time, Uzbekistan advocates a renewed Union of sovereign states which will enable them to stem the process of disintegration of interregional economic relations and to provide a new basis for economic integration within the USSR.

The authors of the programme emphasise that the republic will forge market relations in accordance with its potential and conditions. The gradual privatisation and sale of small and medium-size businesses will be carried out for the benefit of labour collectives.

The state will retain ownership of the main types of national wealth. There are no provisions for transferring land into private ownership. According to the programme's authors, this contradicts the social and economic peculiarities and historical traditions of the republic. In the village, the plans call for developing lease-holding and cooperative ownership of land.

The programme envisages measures to provide social protection to the population during the transition period. It includes a variety of benefits, including for low-income strata of the population, like families with many children, pensioners, students and the disabled.

Considering that the transition to the market may increase the number of unemployed in the republic, measures are envisaged to provide people with jobs, retraining and unemployment benefits.

A special section deals with Uzbekistan's foreign economic policy. Measures include enhancing the republic's role in the international division of labour and encouraging direct foreign economic ties. The republic now will set out its own foreign economic strategy.

After the public discussion of the draft programme, it will be submitted to the Uzbek Parliament in late November.

Uzbekistan Publishes Directions for Stabilization

LD1710121390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Oct 90

[Text] In Uzbekistan, the draft main directions for the stabilization of the republic's national economy and its transfer to a market economy have been published today for nationwide discussion. Among the main clauses in the document is the following: Uzbekistan will form market relations in accordance with its own possibilities and conditions.